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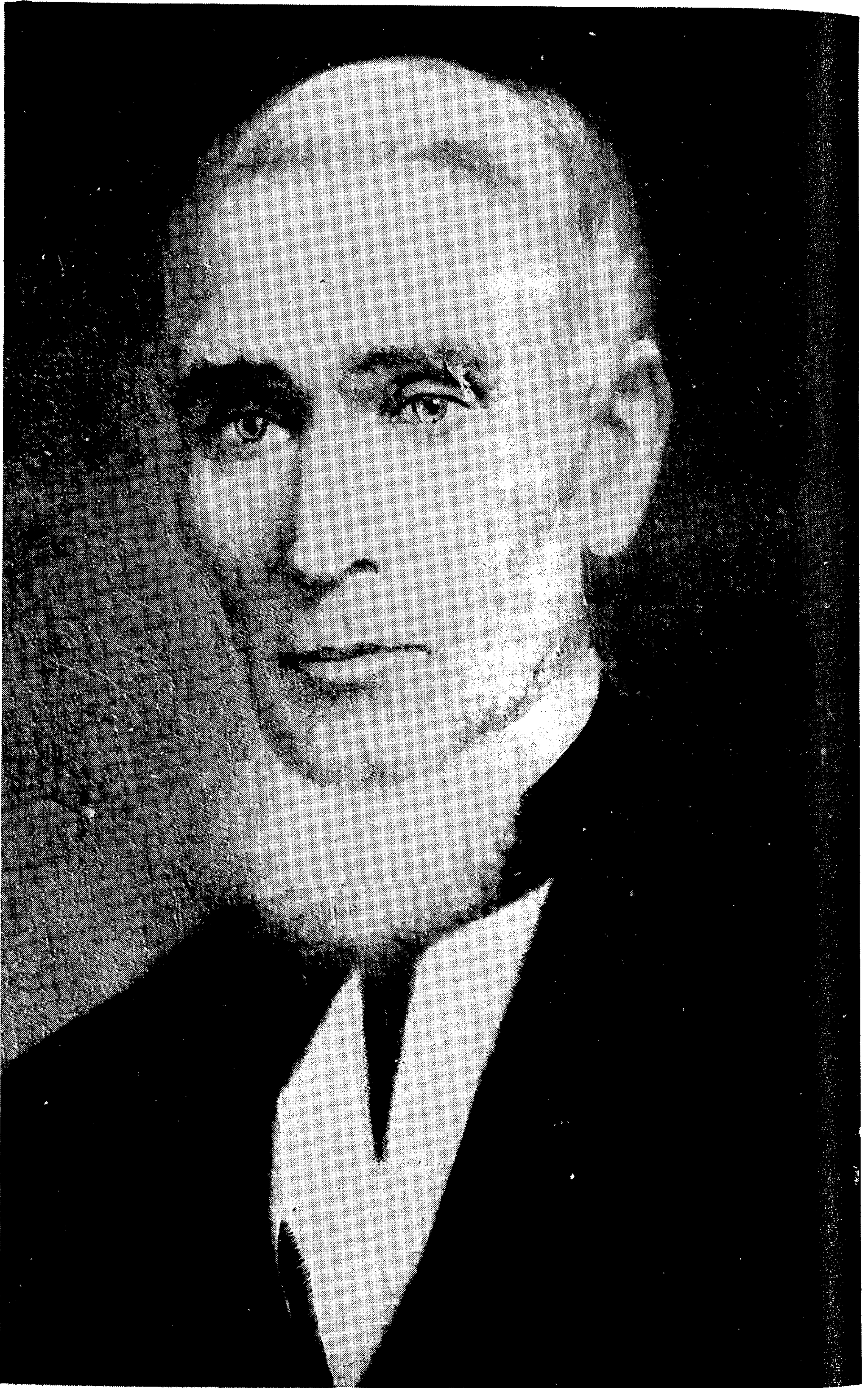
DANIEL PRATT'S INDUSTRIAL URBANISM
THE COTTON MILL TOWN IN ANTEBELLUM ALABAMA

by

Randall M. Miller

The call for Southern manufactures which found an audience during the 1820's and increasingly so during the 1840's stood as one Southern response to a growing self-doubt concerning the long-range wisdom of retaining its cotton monoculture. The dislocations in society and economics which accompanied the drastic price decline after the Panic of 1837 caused enlightened Southerners to pause in their single-minded adulation of "King Cotton" and to re-evaluate their true economic strength *vis-a-vis* the North. In response to the decline in cotton prices, Southern agricultural reformers, politicians, merchants, and planters assembled at the numerous commercial conventions which met between 1837 and 1859 to resolve the agricultural crisis. Delegates repeatedly decried the cotton South's failing colonial economy which forfeited Southern profits to a hostile North for cheap manufactured goods and financial services. In order to restore Southern prosperity and punish the antislavery North, the conventions proposed a host of panaceas including scientific farming, crop diversification, railroad construction, direct trade with Europe, hoarding cotton from world markets to control cotton prices, and the establishment of Southern manufacturers, especially textile mills.

Between conventions, however, few Southerners sustained sufficient resolve to effect such reforms. The weight of the reform appeal also shifted to the region's several outstanding economic diversificationists such as J. D. B. DeBow of New Orleans, M. W. Phillips of Mississippi, and James Hammond of South Carolina. In each state arose an industrial prophet — similar to the noted William Gregg of Graniteville, South Carolina — whose jeremiads assailed Southern prejudices against manufactures and prodded planters to invest in textile manu-



DANIEL PRATT

factures or forever watch the South languish in economic bondage to the North.¹

Alabamians echoed the 'reformers' cries of distress. The *Montgomery Alabama Journal*, for example, lamented in 1839, "Never do we recollect to have witnessed so much stagnation in Business as at the present time. The hard times, and the scarcity of money is the universal cry of everyone." By 1846 Alabama began to experience an agrarian exodus similar to that of the older cotton states. British geologist Charles Lyell, touring the state in 1846, witnessed several Alabama families with their slaves and belongings emigrating to the rich cotton land of Texas. Lyell reported that at least 1300 and 2600 slaves had already quit Alabama for Texas and Arkansas. As late as 1854 a traveller on the Alabama River described such an emigration, noting that at each landing below Montgomery his party had an accession made to its numbers. The new arrivals were "mostly planters, who were attended by negroes, and who, I learned, were proceeding westward to the Mississippi States and Texas."²

Confronted with a declining population and wealth and jealous of the industrial advances in Georgia and the Carolinas, Alabama's industrial promoters moved with a decided sense of

¹The Southern response to the cotton price decline and anti-slavery attacks from the North is discussed in Robert R. Russel, *Economic Aspects of Southern Sectionalism, 1840-1861* (Urbana, 1924, New York ed., 1960), *passim*. See also Charles S. Sydnor, *The Development of Southern Sectionalism 1819-1848* (Baton Rouge, 1948), 249-256, 264-274. On Gregg's influence see Ernest McP. Lander, *The Textile Industry in Antebellum South Carolina* (Baton Rouge, 1969), 50ff; and Broadus Mitchell, *William Gregg, Factory Master of the Old South* (New York, 1966 reprint). For similar appeals to reform see Richard W. Griffin, "North Carolina: The Origins and Rise of the Cotton Textile Industry, 1830-1880" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Ohio State University, 1954); Griffin, "The Origins of the Industrial Revolution in Georgia: Cotton Textiles, 1810-1865," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, XLII (Dec., 1958), 355-375; Griffin, "Cotton Manufacture in Alabama to 1865," *Alabama Historical Quarterly* XVIII (Fall, 1956), 289-307. For a somewhat different view see Randall M. Miller "Cotton Mill Movement in Antebellum Alabama" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Ohio State University, 1971), *passim*.

²*Montgomery Alabama Journal*, April 24, 1839; Charles Lyell, *A Second Visit to the United States of North America* (London, 1849), II, 61-63, 72, 109; James Robertson, *A Few Months in America; Containing Remarks on Some of Its Industrial and Commercial Interests* (London, 1855), 59.

urgency to repair the state's lost fortune. The *Mobile Herald & Tribune* editorialized that the state's habits "must be changed, if its citizens wish to keep up with the progress of the rest of the world." To prevent the overproduction of cotton, another paper demanded that planters give immediate thought to agricultural reform, but added that "we think the subject of manufacturers at the South should claim the first attention."³

Hoping to stimulate interest in cotton manufactures reformers recounted the variety of benefits which local cotton mills offered the planter community. The *Tuscumbia North Alabamian*, for example, argued that cotton mills kept money at home, and by increasing the local demand for cotton while drawing off capital and labor from cotton cultivation, helped raise cotton prices. At the same time, local manufactures promised to upset the Northern preference for a protective tariff, "by building up, and fostering a rival spirit at home." Similar appeals for manufactures emanated from the Black Belt region. The *Montgomery Independent* spoke for most Black Belt reformers in its declaration that local mills were the only "safe and effectual remedy" against the oppressions of the Northern tariffs.⁴

Industrial crusaders also credited local textiles mills with the ability to secure the institution of slavery from the Northern anti-slavery attacks. Pro-industrialists reasoned that an industrialized South, no longer dependent upon the North for basic goods and services, might strike at the North's sole sensitive nerve—its pocketbook. Southern manufactures promised double relief from antislavery abuse, not only insuring Southern economic liberation, but forcing Northern manufacturers—who wished to retain the confidence of their Southern clientele and prevent the rise of rival industry in the South—to drive the antislavery antagonists from their midst. Invigorated by the prospect of pinching the New England purse, the *Mobile Register* captured the spirit of the industrial reform appeal in Alabama when it commanded,

³*Mobile Herald & Tribune*, Dec. 1, 1846; *Mobile Register and Journal* Feb. 20, 1845.

⁴*Tuscumbia North Alabamian*, March 13, 1841; *Montgomery Independent* copied in *Niles' Weekly Register*, LXIX (1845), 188.

Let us not stop [investing in manufactures] till we have effected a thorough emancipation from the trammels of those who, while drawing millions from our pockets, are impertinently interfering with our most delicate social relations, and waging a relentless war upon our dearest rights.⁵

A consuming interest of the industrial reformers in this period was the employment of Alabama's poor whites in the textile mills. In 1848 the *Montgomery Tri-Weekly Flag & Advertiser* asserted that Alabama had 50,000 idle, poor whites available for employment. The *Montgomery Alabama Journal* suggested that manufacturers utilize the state's "large population born on the soil who have not capital to engage in agriculture, who do not wish to emigrate, and who wish employment." In an 1849 speech Gov. Henry W. Collier warned planters and during hard times the unemployed, dissatisfied poor whites might blame slavery for their own ill fortune. He counselled planters to patronize those cotton mills which already employed local white labor and to establish additional factories wherever large numbers of idle whites were concentrated. Pro-industrialists also pointed out that wage earning poor whites would increase the local demand for mechanical services and farm products. One newspaper conceded that if employed in local textile mills, "a large class of our population who are nonproducers, now, will contribute largely to the aggregate wealth of the community."⁶

In their attempts to educate the planter community as to the advantages of using white labor, Alabama industrial crusaders were fortunate to have a champion of exceptional talent to carry the industrial banner. In 1846 Daniel Pratt, a wealthy and articulate cotton gin manufacturer in Black Belt Alabama, emerged as the leading voice for Alabama industrialization, and his well-publicized experiment using poor white labor in a cotton factory became the model for much of Alabama's cotton mill expansion both before and after the Civil War. Equal to the efforts of William Gregg of Graniteville, Pratt's writings and example guided the pro-industrialist argument through the gauntlet of Southern prejudices, revealing how manufacturers

⁵*Mobile Daily Register*, Feb. 15, 1850.

could make poor whites useful members of Southern society without creating a class conscious urban proletariat antithetical to slavery and the Southern social order.

Pratt was already Alabama's foremost industrial figure in 1846 when he embarked on his public campaign for cotton manufactures. A native of Temple, New Hampshire, Pratt had removed to Georgia in 1821, where he labored as a carpenter and later operated a cotton gin factory at Clinton with Samuel Griswold. In 1833 he left Georgia to settle in central Alabama where he hoped to establish his own cotton gin factory. After several years of paying excessive rents to mill site owners, he purchased water rights and almost 2000 acres of land on Autauga Creek about fourteen miles from Montgomery. At the Autauga County site, which he named Prattville, Pratt built his cotton gin factory. He also operated saw and grist mills, but the cotton gin enterprise ensured his fortune. The well-made Pratt cotton gin became so popular throughout the South that Pratt opened a warehouse and merchant outlet in New Orleans to help move the gin. In 1846 the University of Alabama conferred upon Pratt, a man with only rudimentary schooling, the honorary degree of "Master in the Mechanical and Useful Arts" in recognition of Pratt's genius and ability "to promote, the industrial and economical virtues among men."

In his campaign for Alabama manufactures, Pratt first addressed himself to the Southern prejudice against manual labor. He recognized that such prejudice was widespread in Alabama, once stating, "I am aware that it is thought degrading by many to be seen following the plow, or with a jack-plane, saw, trowel, hammer, or any other mechanical tool in their hands," but he regarded such views as myopic and harmful to

¹Montgomery *Tri-Weekly Flag & Advertiser*, Jan. 13, 1849; Montgomery *Daily Alabama Journal*, Oct. 24, 1850; Collier speech quoted in *Plough, Loom, and the Anvil*, II (1850), 497; Montgomery *Tri-Weekly Flag & Advertiser*, Sept. 23, 1848.

²No extended scholarly treatment of Pratt's life exists, but the following are useful: Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds., *Dictionary of American Biography* (20 vols., New York, 1928-1937), XV, 170; Merrill E. Pratt, *Daniel Pratt: Alabama's First Industrialist* (Newcomen Society of England, American Branch, 1949); and the informative sketch in DeBow's "Gallery of Industry and Enterprise," in *DeBow's Review*, X (1851), 225-228. Honorary degree quoted in *ibid.*

Southern economic growth. In 1845 Pratt confided to a co-worker that he would soon put up a factory and a manufacturing village "for the purpose of dignifying labor in the South, and to give the laboring class an opportunity of not only making an independent living, but to train up workmen who could give dignity to labor." With good pay and proper attention to morals Pratt was confident that his village of Prattville, modelled after his own home town of Temple, would attract enough poor whites to commence his experiment. Through religion and education he hoped to introduce his employees to the positive New England virtues of sobriety, thrift, and hard work, which might earn for each operative "a neat, substantial dwelling, the front yard adorned with shrubbery and flowers, a good vegetable garden, a pleasant wife and cheerful children."⁸

In his reform program Pratt was careful to endorse manufacturing villages rather than industrial cities. Villages, he maintained, were healthier and more amenable to social control than cities. With a small, homogeneous population such villages were secure from the crime and social "-isms" which disrupted Northern urban life. Settled amid farms and plantations and manufacturing items to serve the agricultural community, Pratt's factory villages promised to complement rather than supplant the cotton and slave system.

The location of such villages was important to the success of Pratt's social experiment. Manufacturing, said Pratt, required "concentration of machinery and capital to make manufacturing profitable, and that capital and machinery will concentrate where the greatest facilities are found." Each village must possess abundant motive power and a healthful climate. Numerous small villages located from ten to twenty miles apart along the swift creeks of the piney woods region seemed for Pratt "far preferable to the same amount of capital concentrated in one place." With many small manufacturing villages, continued Pratt, "We might expect better health, better society,

⁸Pratt to Editors, Oct. 17, 1851, *Montgomery Daily Alabama Journal*, Oct. 22, 1851; Shadrach Mims, "History of Prattville," in Susan F. H. Tarrant, *Hon. Daniel Pratt: A Biography, with Eulogies on His Life and Character* (Richmond, 1904), 23; Pratt to Mr. & Mrs. Holt, June 1, 1847, Folder 44, Pratt Collection, (Alabama Department of Archives & History, Montgomery); Pratt to Editors, Oct. 17, 1851, *Montgomery Daily Alabama Journal*, Oct. 22, 1851.

and as changes seem necessary for some persons, they could go from village to village, without inconvenience to themselves or their employers . . . and we would not fear epidemics in this piney woods range.”⁹

In a series of articles and public letters published in several Alabama periodicals, Pratt detailed his plan for the cotton mill villages. First, to illustrate the benefits of cotton manufactures, he compared industry to agriculture. The planter arrived in Alabama with his slaves and planted cotton until he exhausted the soil, whereupon he left the state to compete with Alabama farmers on more fertile soils. The long term effect of the planter’s presence had proved negative, resulting in devalued cotton land and a diminished slave population. In contrast, the manufacturer was less transient. He purchased heavy machinery which remained in the state, sharing his wealth with planters through increased property values and the extra taxes which he paid for the mill and its equipment. Pratt assured his readers that he was not opposed to the planting interest; indeed, he considered planters “the bone and sinew of our country.” Pratt also linked agricultural reform to manufactures, noting that both interests were served by new barns, gin houses, improved slave quarters, farm machinery, and the like — all of which would provide jobs for local mechanics and manufacturers while increasing the efficiency of the plantations. But Pratt admonished planters to invest in cotton mills because “It will enrich them [the planters], and induce them to settle permanently, or consider themselves so settled.” With a fixed agricultural population providing markets and capital, the manufacturing interest might grow apace.¹⁰

Cotton mills, Pratt continued, should be the first industry in which planters invest their surplus capital. He reasoned that one million dollars capital invested in one textile manufacturing enterprise was sufficient to establish a factory employing 1600 operatives, who, with their families, would comprise a village of at least 2000 inhabitants. The workers, in turn, required no less than 1500 merchants, physicians, lawyers, millers, shoemakers, farmers, bakers, and the like, to provide services in

⁹Prattville *Southern Statesman*, May 26, 1855.

¹⁰Montgomery *Tri-Weekly Flag & Advertiser*, June 5, 1847.

the village. From the original investment, concluded Pratt, arose a self-contained and profitable manufacturing village of 3500 persons who would repay the investment with goods and services in a short time. While Pratt's village model was too large for Southern urban tastes, even his own, it did point up the enormous potential in manufactures and town development.¹¹

Pratt cautioned industrial enthusiasts that successful manufactures would not appear overnight in the state. A conspicuous participant in the local internal improvements conventions, Pratt vigorously backed rail and water transportation projects as necessary prerequisites to the establishment of local industry. In 1853, for example, he joined with David Smedley of Autaugaville Cotton Factory to sponsor a railroad convention at Prattville. There Pratt proposed that local planters and businessmen petition for state aid to help build a rail connection through Prattville and Selma to Jackson, Mississippi, and another to link central Alabama with the Tennessee River. In 1855 Pratt returned to this theme of state support for internal improvements, urging loans to railroad projects. Pratt pounded home the advantages of railroads to planters and businessmen alike: "Railroads not only increase the value of real estate, but they build up many towns and villages, which add greatly to her [Alabama's] revenue." Appealing to the citizen's universal desire to reduce taxes, he further contended that manufacturing villages and improved transportation facilities would actually prove cheaper to the state and the taxpayer than the present policy of importing manufactured goods and paying out excessive freight charges to send cotton to market. A positive state policy of underwriting rail projects would also invite capital into the state "instead of driving it out as has been the case for some years back." In 1860 Pratt drew praise from local newspapers for his energy in promoting internal improvements. Commenting on the temper of a railroad convention in Autauga County, the *Montgomery Daily Confederation* observed how Pratt, who had addressed the delegates on the need to establish a link with the Western Railroad in their county, had characteristically emphasized the practicality of the contemplated route and that

¹¹*Ibid.*

it promised to be "a good paying investment" for both the commercial and the agricultural sectors.¹²

In addition to the state's uneven transportation facilities, Alabama manufacturers suffered several other handicaps, most notably the state's reliance at great expense on the North for machinery and the want of a pool of experienced native labor. Because of such strictures to manufactures and in light of the enormous potential which cotton manufactures promised the state, Pratt suggested that the General Assembly remove the discouraging and burdensome special taxes on industrial property or "at least tax manufacturing capital no higher than property otherwise invested."¹³

In 1849, two years after he opened his own cotton mill, Pratt continued his plea for state aid to the economy. In a widely circulated public letter, he complained that Alabama's unimaginative banking policy, which restricted credit to agricultural investments alone, retarded industrial development and was driving wealthy Alabamians out of the state to areas "where they can make it more to their interest to invest their capital." If Alabama's cotton manufacturers hoped to keep pace with their rivals in Georgia and the Carolinas, Alabama must reexamine its attitude toward banks. The lack of banking facilities in the state, Pratt fumed, caused manufacturers to sell their goods in New York rather than locally. The Alabama manufacturer, dependent on the local market, was "obliged to sell his goods on a six months' credit and wait until his paper matures before he can realize anything from it." By marketing his products in New York, the same manufacturer received cash or a twelve months' credit for Northern goods. New York merchants possessed the banking facilities immediately to discount their notes on goods sold, and Pratt maintained that if Alabama established similar money facilities,

we should not be dependent on the New York merchants, but sell all our goods here and save the freight, insurance and commissions, and our citizens who held stock in our

¹²Montgomery *Tri-Weekly Alabama Journal*, Aug. 17, 1853; Prattville *Southern Statesman*, May 26, 1855; Montgomery *Daily Confederation*, April 11, 1860.

¹³Montgomery *Tri-Weekly Flag & Advertiser*, June 24, 1847.

banks would reap the profits of the discount, instead of the New Yorkers.

Pratt thus gave notice that despite Alabama's natural advantages for manufactures—abundant water power, healthy climate, and proximity of the raw material, few industrialists "will make the second investment in manufacturing in this state, provided he has the financial part of the business to manage." Pratt concluded that without banks cotton factories could never survive in Alabama: "Show me the states that are most prosperous, and I will show you the states that have the largest banking privileges." Noting the Jacksonian aversion to the artificial wealth of banks, he boldly declared, "Banks may be an evil, but at present they are necessary evils; and no manufacturing state can prosper without them."¹⁴

Such positive state notions were not, however, well received in Alabama. The *Montgomery Tri-Weekly Flag & Advertiser*, for example, cautioned manufacturers not to expect the state legislature to provide monopolies, tariffs, tax credits, or other artificial supports. The editors, who generally endorsed Pratt's program for local industry, dismissed the banking argument as one of self-interest alone. The *Flag* did not want Alabama to repeat the speculative blunders which had contributed to the Panic of 1837 and the suspension of specie payments within the state. Manufacturers would do well to operate on the good faith credit of local planters and merchants rather than relying on New York banks and taking a loss on notes in order to receive immediate cash.¹⁵

Likewise, Pratt's ideas did not always fare well in the political arena. During the threatened secession crisis surrounding the Compromise of 1850 and the Nashville Convention, Pratt published a letter condemning the secessionist position as hasty and dangerous to Southern institutions. Disunion, said Pratt, was no answer to Northern anti-slavery aggression because the North would continue to kidnap slaves and distribute incendiary literature in the South. To preserve slavery, which he believed necessary to Christianize and civilize the Negro, Pratt suggested

¹⁴Pratt Public Letter, March 12, 1849, copied in *ibid.*, March 31, 1849.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, June 5, 24, 1847, April 3, 1849.

that fire-eaters spend less time and money on disunion conventions and more on the encouragement of home industry. Rather than travel to Boston or New York for manufactured goods, Southerners should patronize local textile mills, local merchants, and other local industry. Pratt warned the planter community that the Southern preference for Northern products drove mechanics from the South and forced the region into an increasing dependence upon a hostile North. But if Southerners encouraged local manufactures, then Northern merchants and industrialists would quickly silence the abolitionists in the North, and "the abolition cord will be loosened. Then we will be a prosperous and happy people." Counselling patience, he promised that after Southerners developed their own manufactures "we shall be in a much better condition to secede."¹⁶

Secessionists were quick to voice their disagreement with Pratt. Perhaps the most mordant assaults on Pratt were the "Pym" essays which appeared in the *Montgomery Atlas*. "Pym" ridiculed Pratt's Northern background and reminded Pratt that his industrial reputation was "no evidence of your ability to mark out a path for the Southern people." He admonished Pratt that cotton manufacturers must not think themselves statesmen and suggested that Pratt's wealth, acquired through manufactures rather than agriculture, "has made you step above your station." Accepting the Southern Cavalier myth, "Pym" warned Pratt,

Confine yourself to the manufacturing of cotton goods, and you will be treated and respected as a manufacturer of cotton goods, but put yourself amid the heat and dust of the present stern struggle among southern men, and you will be marked and treated as a Gentile in Israel—the Barbarian among the Romans. We have *statesmen* to blaze out the path for the people of Alabama.¹⁷

Pratt's supporters were not so sure. The *Montgomery Alabama Journal* declared that Pratt had done "more to develop the resources of the State, and point its way to wealth and

¹⁶Pratt to Editors, Oct. 21, 1850, *Montgomery Daily Alabama Journal*, Oct. 24, 1850.

¹⁷"Pym" quoted in *ibid.*, Nov. 22, 1850.

power, than all the demagogues and scheming politicians with which it has been cursed from its foundation."¹⁸ Pratt repeated his advice to the disunionists, but he did not imitate the personal nature of the "Pym" attacks. Pratt, who always tried to cultivate a good press for his industrial gospel, could hardly afford the luxury of protracted political debate. He discreetly allowed the public debate over the secession time-table to subside, and he took the safer course of quietly mobilizing community support for manufactures and postponement of secession until the Southern economy was healthy enough to stand free of Northern manufactures and services. After it became apparent that most Alabamians accepted the Compromise of 1850, Pratt, reaffirmed his allegiance to the Union, second only to the rights of the states and the South. Hinting at his future course, he helped author the Autauga Southern Rights Union resolutions which included an article declaring "it to be the true policy, nay the imperative duty" of Alabama to foster manufactures so that "if the trying time should ever arrive when the South shall have to rely on herself alone for protection of her rights and honor, Alabama may be fully prepared for such emergency."¹⁹ Thereafter for almost ten years, Pratt retired from political discussions and concentrated his energies on his own industrial complex at Prattville to give visible evidence of the advantages of manufactures and white labor.

Pratt's important cotton mill experiment began in 1846 when he organized the Prattville Manufacturing Company No. 1. The original mill had only 500 spindles, but several of Pratt's friends pledged stock to expand the mill. Pratt was thus able to accumulate \$110,000 in stock subscriptions for the project. In 1846 Pratt described the mill: "Our machinery is entirely new and made expressly for heavy goods — when in complete operation [we] expect to turn out 6,000 yards per day — weighing half pound to the yard." When the mill commenced operations in 1847, it employed 160 workers — men, women, and children — making it Prattville's largest single employer. The completed mill worked almost 3000 spindles and 100 looms —

¹⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁹Pratt to Editors, Nov. 11, 1850, *ibid.*, Nov. 13, 1850; Autauga SRU Resolutions printed in *ibid.*, May 26, 1851.

large by Alabama standards — and the machinery alone cost \$40,000, over \$13 per spindle.²⁰

Even with sufficient funding, however, the mill did not enjoy immediate success. In his "History of Prattville" Shadrach Mims, a former employee at Prattville and agent for the cotton mill, recalled that "a large portion [of the mill] lay idle for three or four years for want of capacity in the superintendent to manage the establishment." In 1848, after discharging two overseers, Pratt journeyed to New York in order to hire a suitable superintendent and competent master weaver for the mill. During his absence he regretted to learn that the "weaving is getting on so badly" and instructed Mims, "try and make the Weavers satisfied, tell them they shall have work enough after a while." In New York Pratt finally engaged a satisfactory manager in Gardner Hale, whose son also hired on to work in the carding room. At the same time, Pratt hired a machinist for the factory. Not until he had secured the competent Hale was Pratt able to attack the mill's fundamental problem, the lack of experienced labor. The mill hands, wrote Mims, were all "brought up from the piney woods, many of them with no sort of training to any kind of labor; and in learning many mistakes and blunders were made fatal to success."²¹

Apparently, Gardner Hale combined with Pratt to provide resourceful management because the growth of the physical plant at Prattville was spectacular. In 1846 Pratt reported that he operated one large cotton gin factory, which produced 500 gins annually, and he also had several saw, grist, and flouring mills. By the end of the following year Pratt had completed the cotton mill as well as several new blacksmith and machine shops. After the arrival of Gardner Hale, Pratt erected a new brick building at a cost of \$45,000 to house the cotton mill machinery. The expanded mill annually consumed between 1000 and 1500 bales of cotton, purchased from local growers, and in

²⁰Mims, "History of Prattville," 26; Pratt to Editor, June 30, 1846, *DeBow's Review*, II (1846), 153; Pratt to Mr. & Mrs. Holt, June 1, 1847, Folder 44, Pratt Collection; *DeBow's Review*, IV (1847), 136.

²¹Mims, "History of Prattville," 26; Pratt to Mims, Sept. 26, 1848, Folder 46, Pratt Collection; Mims, "History of Prattville," 33.

1850 turned out Osnaburg and sheeting valued at \$84,000.²² The new factory stood 150 by 80 feet with a brick basement and two wood stories. Attached at either end of the main edifice were two wings. The cotton mill connected with the cotton gin factory, which made the entire frontage about 300 feet and gave the appearance of one large structure. Pratt also constructed a woolen mill at a cost of \$11,000 and paid for the improvements wholly out of company earnings with no call on stockholders. About the same time, he added a new flouring mill, an iron foundry, and a sash, door, and blind factory.²³

By late 1848 Prattville Osnaburg was selling at 1/2 cent higher in New York than Lowell goods. In fact, the Osnaburg sold better in New York than in Alabama. When a Montgomery merchant, typically preferring Northern goods to those of local manufacture, purchased a portion of the Prattville shipment in the New York market, one local friend of Southern industry chuckled, "It would be rather singular that any of our merchants should go 1000 miles to buy an article manufactured within 14 miles of their residence."²⁴ Pratt also found a market for his heavy goods in New Orleans, after he marked down his goods to 9¢ per yard. With mixed success Pratt consigned his cloth to Alabama merchants at 10¢ per yard and allowed local farmers to peddle his thread, called "spun truck," within the county.²⁵

Since the Prattville Manufacturing Company continued to prosper through the 1850's, it was easy for Pratt to lecture planters on the blessings of local manufactures. Pratt improved machinery and widened his markets to keep pace with changing consumer trends. In 1856 he could boast, "Our Cotton Factory is doing well."²⁶ As the local market became glutted with

²²Pratt to Editor, June 30, 1846, *DeBow's Review*, II (1846), 153; *ibid.*, IV (1847), 136; Ms. Seventh U. S. Census, 1850, Schedule 5, Products of Industry, Alabama: Autauga County, (Alabama Department of Archives & History, Montgomery).

²³*DeBow's Review*, X (1851), 226.

²⁴*Montgomery Tri-Weekly Flag & Advertiser*, Dec. 2, 1848.

²⁵George Cook to Pratt, Feb. 14, May 19, June 9, 1848, Folder 44, Pratt Collection; *Alabama Planter*, II (Jan. 31, 1848), 481; Washington B. Crumpton, *A Book of Memories 1842-1900* (Montgomery, 1921), 10, 15.

²⁶Pratt to E. C. Griswold, March 11, 1856, Folder 48, Pratt Collection.

coarse cloth produced at other Alabama mills, Pratt wisely diversified his products, and in 1854 he joined William Gregg and other enlightened friends of Southern textile manufactures in the call for a more varied stock. Only the want of experienced labor prevented him from converting all of his machinery to high quality cloth production.²⁷ While Prattville remained a leading producer of Osnaburg in 1860, Pratt had already reduced the manufacture of that line of "Negro cloth" by almost half since 1850, while he expanded the manufacture of sheeting. He also increased wool production so that by 1860 woolen goods constituted more than half of the company's sales. In 1860 the company reported "a large and extensive business," and planned to add several larger fireproof buildings to house new machinery.²⁸

In part, Prattville's good fortune was due to the favorable location of its factories. Pratt, who was proud of his mill site, stated in 1846, "I have excellent water power, which enables me to do most of my work by machinery." Visitors to Prattville all conceded that the site afforded abundant water power and good transportation. J. D. B. DeBow described Autauga Creek as "a bold, clear stream . . . and the most uniform stream in the world—neither depressed by a protracted drought, nor much swollen by heavy rains." The stream was dependable,

²⁷Prattville *Southern Statesman*, Dec. 20, 1854. Pratt's own preference was for striped plaids and pantaloons.

²⁸In January, 1858, Pratt reported the following statement of the business of Prattville for the year 1857:

Cotton Gin Manufactures	\$144,000
Cotton Factory	151,724
Sash, Door, and Blind Factory	13,360
Corn Mill (Horse Power)	17,160
Foundry	11,432
Carriage	6,500
Tin	3,050
Machine and Blacksmith Shops	8,694
Printing Business	8,000
Mercantile Business	155,249
Total	\$519,169

See Pratt advertisement copied in Tarrant, *Pratt*, 68. On the comparison of 1850 and 1860 production see Schedule 5 of Ms. U. S. Census for 1850 and 1860, Autauga County. On expansion see Prattville *Southern Statesman*, March 24, 1860.

possessed a rapid fall, and the sandstone bed provided a foundation "superior for mills." DeBow once remarked that Prattville enjoyed water power "sufficient to drive 30,000 spindles and 100 looms, which with the other business that would naturally follow, would support a population of 6,000 inhabitants." The Alabama River proved navigable to within four miles of Prattville, and by 1851 Pratt had completed a plank road connecting his village with the river. In 1851 DeBow reported that Pratt was constructing a wharf and warehouse at the Alabama River landing, "which will compare with the best."²⁰

The true strength of Prattville, however, lay in the energies of its founder. In his attitude toward work Pratt remained thoroughly New England. He simply believed that "NO man is happy who has no useful employment" and set out to prove it. DeBow found Pratt "unostentatious—simple and republican in his course of life," and his energy "indomitable . . . his industry knows no impediment or regards no toil. Night and day this man of enterprise may be found at his post."²⁰

Pratt did, however, have his other side. A very private man, he especially enjoyed relaxing at home with his wife, and even a glass of fine wine.³¹ Much of Pratt's spirit was reflected in his home. One visitor remembered the home as a "large and handsome building" with a front yard "tastefully laid off." The yard abounded with "rich shrubbery and fragrant flowers, in the centre of which a fountain is continually playing." Ad-

²⁰Pratt to Editor, June 30, 1846, *DeBow's Review*, II (1846), 153; *ibid.*, IV (1847), 136, X (1851), 227; *Soil of the South*, I (Aug., 1851), 117; *DeBow's Review*, X (1851), 227.

²⁰Pratt to Editors, Oct. 17, 1851, *Montgomery Daily Alabama Journal*, Oct. 22, 1851; *DeBow's Review*, IV (1847), 137.

³¹Although he proscribed alcohol for his operatives, Pratt did drink fine wine. On the hill behind his residence he cultivated a vineyard of Scuppernong and Catawba grapes for his private use. A longtime friend of agricultural reform, Pratt encouraged the native wine culture and corresponded with grape growers throughout the South as to the best methods of improving his vineyards. Grape culture became one of his fascinations, and Prattville wines were regular fare with meals. One guest to Pratt's home recalled testing "several specimens of fine Autauga wine . . . of this wine Mrs. Pratt had several casks, the vintage of last year." For Pratt's interest in local wine production see *DeBow's Review*, X (1851), 226; J. Noyes to Pratt, March 26, 1849, Aug. 31, 1850, Folder 44, Pratt Collection; Statement of Noah B. Cloud copied in Tarrant, *Pratt*, 66.

jacent to the residence was a large hall where Pratt maintained a picture gallery. Pratt's collection included copies of "The Last Supper," "The City of Rome," "The Captives of Judah," and other fine works as well as patriotic portraits of George Washington, Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, and Bishop Soule, all painted by George Cook, a New Orleans artist in Pratt's employ. In the gallery Pratt also kept a grand piano and an organ on which his wife played sacred music—Pratt's favorite. Such introspective tastes help explain Pratt's apparent aloofness with his partners and employees. Shadrach Mims recorded that "With those in his employ he [Pratt] rarely conversed unless on business connected with their immediate department during business hours."³² Such tastes also set Pratt off from the common worker and bound him, intellectually perhaps, to the aristocratic element in Alabama.

Whatever his own preferences, Pratt described a rigid diet of religion, temperance, and education for the workers. Employees at Prattville were largely natives of the piney woods with little or no education. While he preferred families, Pratt also took on single girls and children for work in the cotton mill. In 1847 the average wage for cotton mill operatives at Prattville was \$8 per month, and DeBow reported that at that wage "There is no difficulty in getting operatives . . . and Negroes have not been employed from the abundance of other labor." According to the 1850 census, at least 73 women and 63 men worked fulltime at the mill, women receiving an average monthly wage of almost \$9 and men \$16. Pratt furnished his operatives with cottages, sometimes for a small rent but generally free, and the workers were expected to "obtain their provisions at the shops and neighboring farms." Each of the 65 worker cottages available in 1850 was "neatly painted and of uniform size," and set against the hills amid trees and shrubs so as not to disturb the invigorating pastoral environment of the village.³³

Unless employed in the mill, all of the operatives' children

³²*DeBow's Review*, X (1851), 227; George Cook to Pratt, May 15, 19, July 21, Sept. 6, 1848, Folder 44, Pratt Collection; Tarrant, *Pratt*, 84-85; Mims, "History of Prattville," 45.

³³*DeBow's Review*, IV (1847), 136; Ms. Seventh U. S. Census, 1850, Sch. 5, Alabama: Autauga County; *DeBow's Review*, X (1851), 226.

of school age attended Pratt's special school, located "in a cool sequestered place completely surrounded by a forest." To guard the youngsters' morals and health, Pratt prohibited the sale of alcohol within two miles of the school under penalty of not less than \$200 fine for each offense. T. B. Avery, "an accomplished scholar and gentleman," directed the school under the experimental Lancastrian plan, which arranged the desks in rows with the instructor addressing the students from the front of the room rather than placing the seats around the wall. The New England-born Avery stressed the "Induction" method in his instruction, "drawing out the mind and teaching it to be self-reliant."³⁴

Pratt's school reflected his interest in developing the habits of industry and thrift among the workers' children, but it did not go far enough in vocational training as he had hoped. In 1851 he debated with A. H. Whitfield, a local farmer, on the advantages of technical training in the schools. Pratt petitioned the state legislature to establish a mechanic's school to encourage manufactures and the mechanical arts. Boys entering the mechanic's school at age fourteen would, after two years of study, apprentice themselves out in their chosen trade for a period of three years, finally returning to school for one last year of instruction. Such a system guaranteed enough trained mechanics to continue the state's industrial growth. Pratt offered land for a school site and financial aid to any student too poor to pay his own fees.³⁵

A. H. Whitfield agreed that a need for such a school did exist in the state, but he proposed that students combine with an apprenticeship in a seven-year program which included eight hours of study and seven hours labor each day. He also emphasized a curriculum of horticulture, scientific farming, practical knowledge of grading, levelling, fencing, and the use of farm machinery. Apparently, Whitfield's mechanic's school was intended to serve as an adjunct to agriculture rather than encour-

³⁴Shadrach Mims, "History of Autauga County," [ca. 1886] in *Alabama Historical Quarterly*, VIII (Fall, 1946), 261. For the liquor ban see Alabama, *Acts of the General Assembly*, 1845-46, 115-16; *ibid.*, 1847-48, 165.

³⁵Pratt to Editors, Oct. 17, 1851, *Montgomery Daily Alabama Journal*, Oct. 22, 1851.

age manufactures. Pratt was unsuccessful in selling his plan to the Alabama legislature, which was interested in neither public education nor support for the mechanical arts, and in 1854 Pratt was still lobbying for state aid to a mechanic's school which might offer a "plain practical education."³⁶

More important than technical skills, however, was Pratt's instruction in religion and sobriety. Pratt always insisted that "no worker about machinery is worth a pinch of salt if he has liquor in his stomach."³⁷ To remove the operatives' intemperance and so increase their efficiency, he strictly forbade the sale of alcohol within two miles of the village. According to *DeBow's Review*, violators received stiff penalties for noncompliance in cases where Pratt owned town lots: "In selling building lots, the sale of ardent spirits has been prohibited, by a forfeiture of the lot in any event of the kind."³⁸

The workers' religious instruction stressed the virtues of hard work and temperance, and few missed some form of religious instruction while residing in Prattville. Mims recalled that all children were required to attend Sunday school, "the first Sunday after their arrival." In 1845 the Sunday school met in the upper room of a local store, but Pratt soon moved the school to more expansive quarters to meet the needs of the increased population. The Rev. Jesse P. Perham of the Methodist Episcopal Church, a young preacher from New Hampshire who also worked as a machinist at Prattville, became the first "stationed preacher" at the Sabbath school and Methodist church. Mims remembered that Perham, despite a speech impediment, was "a true orator by nature," and as a revivalist he "had no superior."³⁹ A deeply religious man, Pratt generously supported the Prattville churches. J. Slater Hughes, a temperance crusader who twice visited Prattville in 1847, applauded the vigorous religious life in Prattville's Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian congregations. The Sabbath schools were thriving with twenty teachers

³⁶Whitfield to Editors, Dec. 15, 1851, *ibid.*, Dec. 22, 1851; Prattville *Southern Statesman*, Dec. 20, 1854.

³⁷Pratt quoted in Dwight M. Wilhelm, *History of the Cotton Textile Industry of Alabama 1809-1950* (Privately printed, 1950), 13.

³⁸*DeBow's Review*, X (1851), 226.

³⁹Mims, "History of Prattville," 58, 32-38.

and a 1000 volume library for the 120 pupils. In addition, Hughes reported that Prattville supported "a flourishing Bible Society." In a letter to his sister Pratt enthusiastically related that his village enjoyed "regular preaching every Sabath [*sic*] and jenerally [*sic*] every Wednesday night."⁴⁰

Judging from contemporary accounts, Pratt's religious program experienced some success. In an 1849 article for the *Southern Quarterly Review*, Judge Benjamin F. Porter of Tuscaloosa declared that in Prattville "good morals, and well paid industry distinguish the operatives." Porter approved of the Prattville enterprise, and he went on to say, "The labor, which, a few years ago, was wasted on small cotton farms, is here directed to a more useful employment."⁴¹ J. Slater Hughes happily observed that Prattville suffered "no idlers," but he also noticed that there were "a few youngsters who have not learned to be decent in the house of God." In an 1848 letter George Cook informed Pratt, "I regret that the Demon Alcohol has access to your village."⁴² By 1860, however, Pratt confidently stated that he had corrected most problems. He described the town's inhabitants as "industrious, intelligent and refined," and added that "the town is universally free of the vices of loafing and dissipation."⁴³ On the whole, Sharach Mims concurred with Pratt's analysis. Mims praised Pratt for the "good done to the operatives and their families, both in a pecuniary way and in the improvement of mind, manners and morals." The cotton mill employees, who "were of the very poorest class . . . withal ignorant people from obscure parts of the country . . . having never enjoyed any religious privileges," largely benefited from Pratt's religious program. Although several of the "drunken and abandoned" fathers kept up their old habits and some of the children were "far from being as good as they might

⁴⁰J. Slater Hughes to *Temperance Watchman*, May 23, 1847, copied in *Tuscaloosa Independent Monitor*, Nov. 9, 1847; Pratt to Mr. & Mrs. Holt, June 1, 1847, Folder 44, Pratt Collection.

⁴¹Porter, "Characteristics of Alabama," *Southern Quarterly Review*, XVI (1849), 190.

⁴²Hughes to *Temperance Watchman*, May 23, 1847, copied in *Independent Monitor*, Nov. 9, 1847; G. Cook to Pratt, May 15, 1848, Folder 44, Pratt Collection.

⁴³Prattville *Autauga Citizen*, Aug. 16, 1860.

be," most children, after the initial distaste for religion wore off, experienced in Mims's eyes an "agreeable change."⁴⁴

While this spiritual and moral metamorphosis proceeded among the children, Pratt moved to ensure the docility of his white work force through the introduction of slave labor in the mills. During the 1850's Pratt, the acknowledged leader in the movement to uplift poor whites through employment in factories, joined many of his colleagues in Alabama and the South in the use of Negroes in the mills. When the agricultural reformer Noah B. Cloud inspected the Prattville industries in 1857, he discovered slaves working side by side with whites in the mills. At the cotton gin factory and foundry Pratt employed fifty hands, "Many of whom are slaves that seem to be well skilled in the performance of this work." At the cotton mill, which he described as "extensive and flourishing," Cloud also found Negroes working with the white operatives. Significantly, the presence of Negroes did not appear to disrupt the normal operations at the mill."⁴⁵

Since his first days in Alabama, Pratt enjoyed the blessings of slave labor. He brought two slaves with him when he left Georgia in 1833, and he used slave labor to clear and fill the swamps at the Prattville site. By 1850 Pratt had accumulated a force of 47 slaves, all kept at Prattville. Ten years later the census recorder found Pratt with 107 slaves at Prattville, most of whom were of employable age.⁴⁶

What is interesting here is not that Pratt owned slaves—many of them—but why he turned to slave labor at all in the mills. Shadrach Mims suggested one reason for Pratt's swing to a mixed labor force when he noted that the white workers, drawn from the neighborhood, had simply not performed as well as hoped. Many of the men remained dissipated in health and morals and never did throw off their personal embarrassment at

⁴⁴Mims, "History of Autauga County," 262, 266-267.

⁴⁵Montgomery *American Cotton Planter & Soil of the South*, n.s., I (1857), 156-157. For a full discussion of slave labor in Alabama cotton mills see Miller, "Cotton Mill Movement in Antebellum Alabama," chapters iv-v.

⁴⁶Mims, "History of Prattville," 21, 24-25; Ms. Seventh and Eighth U. S. Census, 1850 & 1860, Sch. 2, Slave, Alabama: Autauga County (microfilm), National Archives.

being reduced to labor in a factory. Having acquired the habits of lethargy and insobriety in the piney woods, the poor whites proved hard to train. Mims complained of the many mistakes made as a consequence of using local white labor. Moreover, the white worker's peculiar habit of moving on after a few months on the job proved costly and sabotaged Pratt's reform effort. The difficulties in using white labor which Mims described may have been overdrawn, as Pratt himself claimed in 1860 that he had resolved most of the problems of drink and inefficiency among the white operatives; nevertheless, the process must have been wasteful in man hours and productivity.⁴⁷

Actually, Pratt worked hard to make factory labor as attractive as possible to whites, and his factories compared favorably with the Southern norm for working conditions, wages, and care of workers. Wages, although not high by national standards, were generally sufficient to provide most of the worker's basic needs. In addition, the factory housing, a lure to indigent whites, was clean, comfortable, and well secured against the elements. In the well-run factory village there were also numerous opportunities for educational and cultural enrichment. If the operative could withstand patronizing ministers and mill managers, he might enjoy schools, churches, libraries, lyceums, and special concerts. The Prattville *Southern Statesman*, independent in politics, provided a literary outlet for the poetical ambitions of the workers.⁴⁸

The cotton mill also afforded opportunities for upward mobility. If one was willing to stay on at the mill and possessed both talent and energy, he might realize marked advances in factory status and remuneration. Washington Ellis, the son of a local farmer who later became an operative in Prattville, is a case in point. Ellis entered the cotton mill in 1852 at the age of eighteen. After several years in the weaving department, he switched to carpentry which offered higher returns in status

⁴⁷Mims, "History of Prattville," 26. See also fn. 43 above.

⁴⁸Compare Prattville conditions, noted above, with those prescribed in E. Steadman's model factory described in his *The Southern Manufacturer: Showing the Advantages of Manufacturing the Cotton in the Fields Where It Is Grown . . .* (Gallatin, Tenn., 1858), especially, 67-74, 82-83. See Miller, "Cotton Mill Movement in Antebellum Alabama," chapters ii-iii, v, for comparison of Alabama mills and village life.

and wages. The war interrupted his progress, but by 1868 he had returned to Prattville to take charge of the entire weaving operation.⁴⁹

There were other examples of such advancement, but such successes remained exceptional cases. Most operatives did not remain long in industrial employment, and if they did, they frequently jumped from one mill to the next in the hope of higher wages. There was abundant cause for whites to find factory labor distasteful in the South, even at the enlightened Prattville mills. In a cotton mill the work was monotonous and not without personal danger. The primitive tooling crushed limbs, and fires were a constant hazard. One grisly accident at Prattville involved a young boy whose shirt became entangled with the exposed leather belting of the machinery which dragged the struggling youth into the machinery where he was summarily decapitated.⁵⁰ If exposed to labor in a cotton mill for any length of time, one's health always suffered from the heavy cotton dust. James Silk Buckingham, during his 1839 tour of Southern cotton mills, found white operatives "miserably pale and unhealthy" and "very shortlived." According to Buckingham, the first symptoms of the seasonal Southern "fevers and dysenteries" appeared "chiefly among them at the factories . . . sweeping numbers of them off by death. . . ."⁵¹ While working conditions had improved considerably since the crude, poorly ventilated mills of the 1830's, labor in many Alabama mills continued to be unhealthful and unpleasant. At Prattville workers frequently grumbled about colds and coughing due to the warm, muggy days and cold, damp evenings. The factory site accounted for much of the discomfort as Pratt had selected his mill site at a bog, which is ironic considering his admonitions to choose healthful sites for manufacturing villages. Fatal diseases sometimes accompanied the ague and coughing. In 1848, for example, a summer scourge claimed the life of a young boy and disabled much of the work force. Epidemics which plagued Montgomery were easily transmitted to Prattville. On one occasion, only Pratt's insistence on universal vaccination at the village

⁴⁹"Personal Memoirs—Autauga County," in Brant and Fuller, comps., *Memorial Record of Alabama* . . . (Madison, Wisconsin, 1893), I, 350.

⁵⁰Montgomery *Daily Confederation*, Oct. 2, 1858.

⁵¹James Silk Buckingham, *The Slave States of America* (London, [1842]), II, 113.

and a travel ban to Montgomery prevented a small pox epidemic from spreading to Prattville.⁵² Shadrach Mims, who loved Prattville more than any man save Pratt, ruined his health while an agent for the cotton mill. Mims complained that after fifteen years labor in Prattville, "I have about paid my expenses and no more. . . ." At the cotton mill he performed the "hardest work" of his life and "completely wrecked" his health. After retiring from the mill, he moved out of town to a small farm, but he found himself "unable to do any out-of-door business and at times . . . too weak to get from my bed to my chair and back again without assistance."⁵³ How much was old age, the result of overwork, or the consequence of cotton dust and an unhealthy environment no one can be sure. Whatever the case, the sorry state of Mims's health was small inducement for local whites to enter the mills, and the briefest exposure to labor in a Southern mill was an incentive to move on.

In addition to hard work and insalubrious conditions, the operative suffered psychological torment. The stigma against factory labor remained strong in the South throughout the antebellum period. As James C. Bonner has suggested in an important study of a Georgia community, the white landless farmer went to the mill reluctantly and on the gamble that there he might retrieve a lost fortune. With a grub-stake he could re-enter agricultural pursuits. According to Fabian Linden, the white worker's entrance into industrial employment in the South was a desperate act. To forsake the soil for the factory signalled the white's failure within traditional Southern economic and social channels, and this feeling, argues W. J. Cash, would not be allayed even in the immediate postwar South. During the 1850's, however, the non-slaveholding white found it increasingly difficult to compete with slaves in agriculture, and rising slave prices prevented him from acquiring his own Negroes. The Southern factory worker, says Linden, represented the product of "an increasingly exclusive slave system" and forced by economic pressures, much like his counterpart in the New South, "to leave the land and seek reluctantly support in

⁵²On unhealthful conditions see for example, G. Cook to Pratt, Oct. 19, 1848, Folder 44, Pratt Collection. The epidemic is treated in *Montgomery Daily Alabama Journal*, March 14, 20, 1851.

⁵³Mims, "History of Autauga County," 251.

urban centers." The white operative in the South, before the acceptance of the New South ethic, had fallen "through the very bottom of the agricultural hierarchy."⁵¹

Although personally indisposed to participate in the degrading mill work, many poor whites and marginal farmers sent their wives and children to the mills in order to bolster sagging farm incomes. This source of labor, however, potentially disrupted the social control systems of the factory village. For that reason Pratt generally sought, with mixed success, whole families who would live in his village and take part in the community's religious and educational programs. Despite his pledge not to raise up a class of white workers totally dependent upon industrial wages,⁵⁵ Pratt encouraged Prattville mechanics to let their sons and daughters work in the cotton mill. The 1860 census suggests that he employed that source of labor to a great extent. As a proven counter-weight to the growth of organized labor, he may have begun to train his slaves in the art of tending cotton machinery.⁵⁶

The fluidity of local white labor and the desire to balance

⁵⁴James C. Bonner, "Profile of a Late Ante-Bellum Community," *American Historical Review*, XLIX (1944), 670; Fabian Linden, "Economic Democracy in the Slave South: An Appraisal of Some Recent Views," *Journal of Negro History*, XXXI (April, 1946), 145, 146. For Cash's provocative comments concerning the nature of factory labor in the post war South see his monumental *The Mind of the South* (New York, Vintage ed., 1941), Books II, III.

⁵⁵Very circumstantial evidence exists to suggest that one family of workers at Prattville may have entered a state close to debt peonage as credits at the company store out-ran wages. Mims, as company agent, tried to garnish wages to pay debts due Prattville merchants. See for example, Sarah Lilly (employee) to Mims, Nov. 6, 1857; and J. H. Lilly (employee) to Mims, Nov. 7, 1857, William C. Allen Papers (Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill). This may account for white labor's tendency to migrate from job to job. Operatives, if such projected garnishments were common, may have wanted to escape debts.

⁵⁶Ms. Eighth U. S. Census, 1860, Sch. 1, Free, Alabama: "Prattville," Autauga County (microfilm), National Archives. On the use of slaves to curb labor unrest see Richard B. Morris, "Labor Militancy in the Old South," *Labor and Nation*, IV (May-June, 1948), 32-36; and Morris, "The Measure of Bondage in the Slave States," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLI (Sept., 1954), 219-240. On the use of slaves in Southern industry see Norris Preyer, "The Historian, the Slave, and the Ante-Bellum Textile Industry," *Journal of Negro History*, XLVI (April, 1961), 67-83; and Robert S. Starobin, *Industrial Slavery in the Old South* (New York, 1970).

white class interests against slave labor does not entirely account for Pratt's adoption of a racially mixed labor force in the mills. There was a more personal reason for his new labor policy. Obviously, he wanted to find useful employment for the unusually large slave force which he maintained at Prattville. As to his motives in purchasing so great a force we can only guess. Investments in slaves represented dead capital for manufactures, and it ran counter to all of Pratt's public pronouncements on the need to divert capital from Negroes and land into manufactures. Pratt's attachment to slave labor in the 1850's, while it reflected his growing awareness of the uneven quality of the local white labor pool, conspicuously followed the bitter assaults on his loyalty to Southern institutions which occurred during the 1850 secession crisis. As noted earlier, the radical wing of the Southern Rights party had denounced Pratt for his cautious stand on secession in 1850. The "Pym" essays challenged Pratt's fidelity to Southern principles and suggested that Pratt's Northern origins and his consuming interest in manufactures rather than land and Negroes made him less than a man by Southern standards. Certainly, from "Pym's" point of view Pratt had no right to discuss with Southerners the proper timetable for secession. Rather than antagonize the planting interest upon which industry depended for patronage, Pratt withdrew from the debate in 1850, but his embarrassment continued over a most ridiculous rumor concerning a secessionist barbecue. Some disunionists claimed, incorrectly, that Pratt had refused to allow persons of their political persuasion to hold a barbecue and rally on land owned by Pratt. The ill-feeling engendered by this misunderstanding forced Pratt to make a public denial of any attempt to prohibit the disunionist assembly, and he further declared himself a friend of Southern Rights. The disunionists accepted the apology in good faith, and many local citizens flew to his defense, believing Pratt an honest man and one who had the true interests of the South at heart. Despite the support, the significance of the disunionist allegations as to his loyalty, based wholly on his place of birth and his ungentlemanly profession, could not have been lost on the intelligent and sensitive Pratt. His great wealth in slaves, his long residence in the South, and his devotion to Southern economic independence counted for nothing with the disunionists. Pratt found himself labelled an outsider in his

own state.⁵⁷ During the 1850's he began to buy more slaves and finally introduced Negroes into his mills which had been laid out as a refuge for poor white labor from the piney woods.

As entrance into the Southern ruling class became more restricted during the 1850's and the South grew more sensitive to discussions touching its peculiar institution, Pratt became an outspoken defender of slavery. While on a business trip to the North in 1851, he published a widely circulated letter in which he described the slaves as happy, healthy, and grateful for their bondage. The letter revealed the extent to which he had purged himself of his New England heritage and gone over to the popularly held positive-good slavery doctrine of the planter elite. In the Northern camp, as if to show off his devotions to Southern principles, Pratt dared to proclaim, "African slavery in North America has been a greater blessing to the human family than any other institution except the Christian religion." He argued that slavery removed the Negro from the vicious savagery of the African jungle to the virtue and benevolence of Southern culture, which the happy slave assimilated through labor in the field or in the mechanical trades. Pratt addressed the last line of his letter to his New England competitors when he queried, "How many cotton factories would have been in operation in the United States had not the negro made the cotton?"⁵⁸ As to the abolition and slavery extension questions Pratt concurred with acceptable Southern doctrine. In 1859 he could find "no patience to listen to a class of persons, who speak of fencing in or penning up slavery." On the extension of slavery into the territories and into industry, he concluded, "Slavery will eventually go where it can be made profitable, and no where else is it wanted."⁵⁹

Despite his avowed fealty to Southern institutions and his personal fortune in Negroes, Pratt was not a fire-eater, nor did he support the radical secession platforms. During the secession crisis of the late 1850's and 1860, he remained adamant in his conviction that the South was yet unprepared to stand alone.

⁵⁷See above, notes 16-19, for the discussion of the 1850 secession debate. See also *Montgomery Advertiser & State Gazette*, Nov. 20, 1850.

⁵⁸Pratt to *Farmer's Cabinet*, Aug. 8, 1851, reprinted in *Montgomery Tri-Weekly Alabama Journal*, Sept. 8, 1851.

⁵⁹*American Cotton Planter & Soil of the South*, n.s., III (1859), 115.

Pratt characterized the "flaming, fiery speeches and threats" of the Southern Rights men as rash and unproductive; rather, he urged the South to build up its industry and commerce before hastening towards disunion. Repeating his counsel of the earlier secession debates, Pratt implored Southerners to "go quietly and peaceably to work, and make ourselves less dependent on those who abuse and would gladly ruin us." Pratt was prepared to declare war on the anti-slavery North, but only with a well supplied arsenal. Southerners, said Pratt in 1859, must redirect their energies and buying habits to support local enterprise in order to "build such bulwarks as will not only defend ourselves, but conquer our enemies." Boasting of his own accomplishments at Prattville to further Southern liberties and independence, Pratt said, "I am trying to reverse things a little." He purchased his shafting, about 40 tons per annum, from a works in Etowah, Georgia, and he found it "a better article than I get from the North, and as cheap." Pratt used almost 150 tons of Shelby County pig iron, which he believed "equal to any iron made," and all of his lime came from Alabama, "the best I ever used." More importantly, the Prattville Manufacturing Company worked up 1200 bales of Alabama cotton and 120,000 pounds of Southern wool each year.⁶⁰

Pratt's loyalty to the South extended beyond home consumption in economic affairs. In 1854 he came out for improved education as a preliminary to Southern self-sufficiency. As he told one friend, "I think we ought to be educated in Southern States." By 1859 Pratt could congratulate himself on his fidelity to Southern institutions and interests: "For the past twelve years I have been patronizing Southern schools. I have carried it so far as to bring out eight children from Northern States, and educated them in Alabama." In an incisive barb directed at his fire-eater critics, Pratt boldly concluded, "Some pretend to show their works by their faith, I hope to show my faith by my works, so long as God blesses me with health and

⁶⁰*Ibid.*; Montgomery *Daily Mail*, Feb. 25, 1859. Pratt also relied exclusively on Alabama coal and convinced Jesse Perham, the Prattville Methodist minister who later left to establish the Autaugaville Cotton Factory and the Selma Mfg. Company, to do the same. W. P. Browne to J. W. Lapsley, March 10, 1851, in *Mobile Daily Register*, March 17, 1851.

strength."⁶¹ When secession came, however, Pratt supported the Southern war effort, even serving in the legislature of Confederate Alabama. Although he endorsed the Bell-Everett Union ticket in the 1860 election as a last attempt to slow what he feared to be a perilous and precipitous course for the South,⁶² the Lincoln victory and the predominant disunion sentiment of Autauga County pushed Pratt into the Confederate camp, however reluctant.⁶³

Pratt's embrace of the Confederacy, however hesitant, did not, as Eugene Genovese has argued in an otherwise brilliant essay,⁶⁴ represent a betrayal of class interest, nor can Pratt be accused of cowardice and trimming in the face of the enemy. Despite his appeals to caution, Pratt had always recognized that the peculiar nature and destiny of Southern civilization made secession inevitable. And even in his advocacy of modest industrialization Pratt never really challenged the core of antebellum Southern society—slave-based agriculture. His own large investment in Negroes and his public endorsement of the pro-slavery ideology, although somewhat colored by a desire to win favor with the planter elite, revealed an attachment to Southern principles that went beyond mere expediency. Pratt's arguments for manufactures and his Whiggish call for positive state action to support internal improvements, education, and banking all operated within the context of his theme of developing the Southern economy and people so as to protect the racial and social order in the South, not destroy it. For that reason Pratt's views were tolerated in Alabama, if not admired by some. Essentially, Pratt emphasized a change in tactics, not without social danger to be sure, but a tactical change which, unfortunately, would not occur in the South until the postbellum era when, in the wake of Yankee triumph, the Southern elite endorsed the platform of economic diversification and industry in order to revive the region and retain their cultural and racial

⁶¹Pratt to Joseph Russell, March 22, 1854, Folder 46, Pratt Collection; *Montgomery Daily Mail*, Feb. 25, 1859.

⁶²See for example, Prattville *Autauga Citizen*, Aug. 9, Nov. 15, 1860.

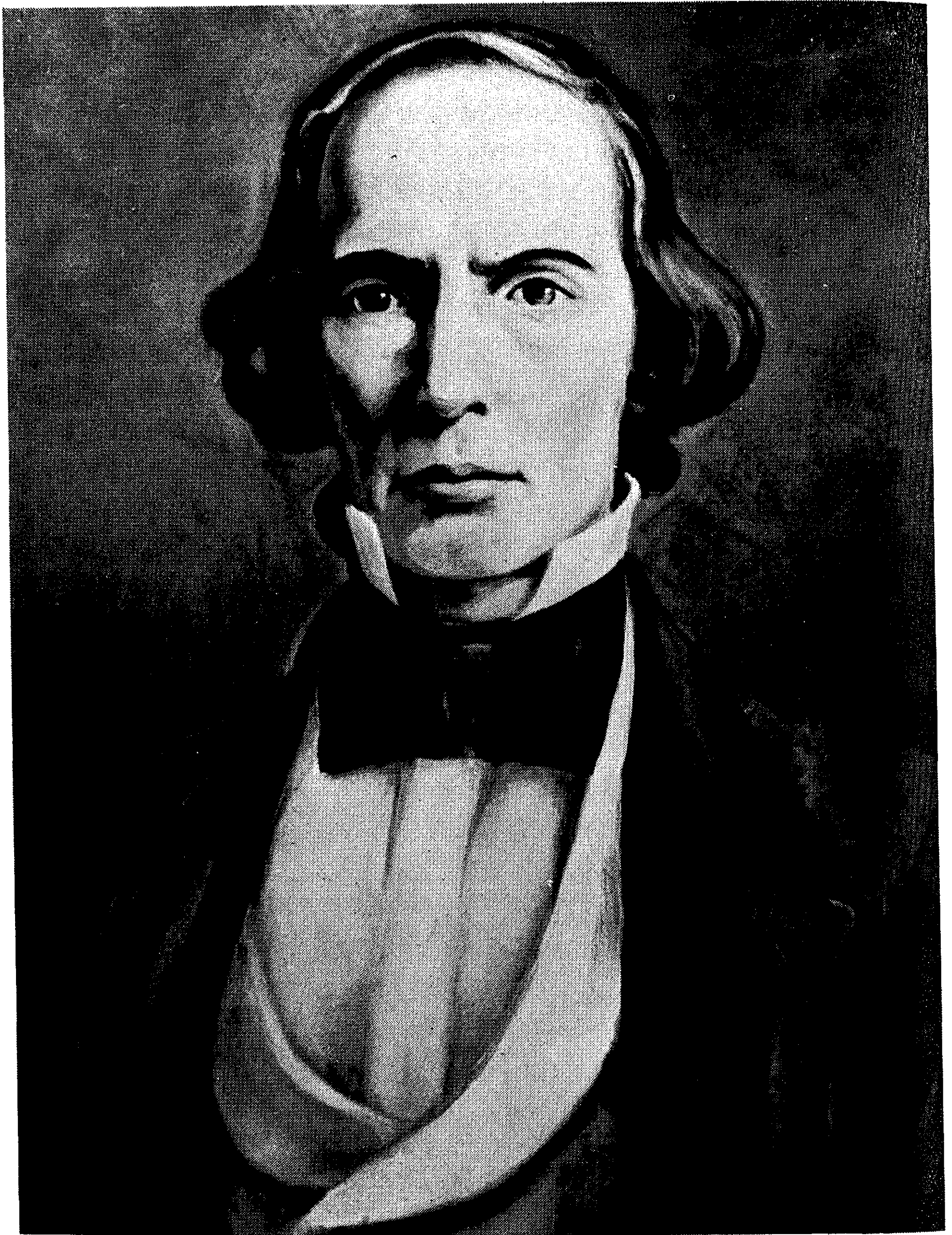
⁶³On Pratt's later role see DAB, XV, 170; and Pratt, *Daniel Pratt*.

⁶⁴Eugene Genovese, *The Political Economy of Slavery: Studies in the Economy & Society of the Slave South* (New York, 1965 ed.), 180-208.

hegemony.⁶⁵ Pratt only asked that planters advance against the hostile North from a position of strength by adopting the best of the New England capitalist world—thrift, energy, temperance—and molding it to fit Southern needs and conditions. Too, his compassion for the plight of the poor white, antedating the paternalistic approach that marked New South industrialists, satisfied Southern conditions regarding class. His social control techniques, widely employed by other Alabama cotton mill owners in this period, circumvented the disruptive, odious nature of most manufacturing cities while it prepared the ground for the company town of the New South era. In the capital-starved closed-market economy of the Deep South, Pratt, like his fellow manufacturers in the state, relied on patronage and capital support from the planter class. In that light Pratt's vigorous campaign for local manufactures and his pecuniary success at Prattville become all the more remarkable and attest to some degree of diversity in Southern thought even up to the last days of the prewar era.

⁶⁵On this point see Broadus Mitchell, *The Rise of Cotton Mills in the South* (vol. 39, *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, Baltimore, 1921); and Paul H. Buck, *The Road to Reunion 1865-1900* (New York, Vintage ed., 1937), 176-202.

LANDON CABELL GARLAND



This portrait of Landon Cabell Garland was based on a photographic likeness of him during the early 1850's about the time when he was the President of the North East and South West Alabama Railroad. It was painted by the late Bertha L. Miller and hangs in the Reference Room of the Gorgas Library of the University of Alabama.

This print is used by courtesy of the Gorgas Library, University of Alabama.

LANDON CABELL GARLAND'S LETTER BOOK
WHILE PRESIDENT OF THE
NORTH EAST & SOUTH WEST ALABAMA RAILROAD
COMPANY
1854-1855

by

Rebecca Agnew Holt and Mary Lightfoot Garland

The railroad building fever which gripped Alabama in the 1850's was stimulated by the discoveries of Michael Toumey, professor at the University of Alabama and State Geologist, exposing the mineral wealth of the state. Among the roads projected to open the mineral regions was the North East and South West Alabama Railroad, which was to begin at a point on the Mississippi state line near Meridian, run through Sumter, Greene, Tuscaloosa, and Jefferson counties, and connect finally through Wills and Lookout Valleys with Chattanooga. During the late summer of 1853 a series of mass meetings and barbeques was held in Livingston, Eutaw, and Elyton culminating at a convention in Tuscaloosa where plans for the projected railroad crystalized.

On September 23, 1853, representatives from surrounding counties meeting in the old state capitol in Tuscaloosa heard Professor Landon Cabell Garland, who had been called to the chair, extol the value of such a railroad in opening the rich iron, coal, and limestone deposits that abounded in the vicinity. A company was formed, subscriptions were taken in cash and road bed building, and a charter was sought from the Alabama Legislature. The charter being duly granted on December 12, 1853, the stockholders met in Eutaw to elect their directors. Garland was again present, taking an active interest in the development of the railroad. The newly elected directors offered the presidency of the railroad to Professor Garland, setting the salary at \$5,000.

Landon Cabell Garland, the new president of this railroad enterprise was a native of Virginia. He had taught at Washington College and Randolph Macon College, serving several years as president before accepting an invitation to teach English and

Mathematics at the University of Alabama in 1847. Garland resigned the railroad presidency to assume the duties of president of the University of Alabama in October 1855. During the hard war years he kept the college open, and in April, 1865, as commandant of the University Cadet Corps, led his students in the futile defense of Tuscaloosa against General John Croxton and his raiders who destroyed the college buildings. For one more year Garland presided over the ashes and burned-out fortunes of the state university, resigning in 1867 to accept a position on the faculty of the University of Mississippi. From 1875 until his retirement in 1893, he was chancellor of Vanderbilt University and continued to be Chancellor Emeritus and professor of Physics and Astronomy until his death on February 12, 1895. He is buried on the campus of the Vanderbilt University.

There was little doubt in the minds of the promoters of the North East and South West Railroad that it was to be eventually a dominant part of a much larger railroad system. Immediately upon assuming his duties as president of the North East and South West Railroad Company, Garland sought a merger with the Wills Valley Railroad, but the combination did not come until he had returned to his academic profession. Before his death he was to see his dream partially come true by the absorption of his railroad into the Southern Railway System*

Most of Garland's life was spent in the academic world, but the few months that he was president of the railroad showed that his executive ability extended beyond the administration of the three educational institutions which he was to serve as president. His correspondence during those months also reflects interesting information on railroad development in the 1850's and supplements his *Exposition of the Advantages and Prospects of the Northeast and Southwest Alabama Railroad* published in

*For a fuller treatment of the development of the history of the railroad see James H. Clark, "History of the North East and South West Alabama Railroad to 1872," (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Alabama, 1949), and James F. Doster, *Railroads in Alabama Politics, 1875-1914* (University, Alabama, 1957). The North East and South West Alabama Railroad was merged with the Wills Valley Railroad in 1868 as the Alabama and Chattanooga Railroad. Becoming the Alabama Great Southern in 1877, it became a part of the Southern Railway Company in 1895.

Tuscaloosa in 1855. The letter book kept by Garland has not previously been available. Its contents are published here in full; the letters have not been altered from the original text which is in the possession of Mr. W. L. Fulton, Washington, D. C., through whose cooperation they are now printed.

Incorporators of the North East and South
West Railroad as named in the charter:

James Hair	Thomas Maxwell
W. Waldo Shearer	William S. Mudd
Stephen M. Potts	James McAdory
Samuel M. Gowdy	James Hendrix
Samuel L. Creswell	John W. McRae
Frederick Meriwether	Thomas C. Barclay
Alfred Battle	Arthur C. Beard
James H. Dearing	John I. Thomason
Robert Murphy	

Director of North East and South West
Railroad elected January 18, 1854

Sumter County—W. Waldo Shearer, John C. Phares
Greene County—Solomon McAlpine, J. J. Collier, S. L.
Creswell, Alfred Clement, F. Merriwether
Tuscaloosa County—Thomas Maxwell, J. H. Dearing, A. B.
Dearing, Alfred Battle
Jefferson County—William S. Mudd

Tuskaloosa Jan'y 23. '54

Colo: J. A. Whitesides¹

Dear Sir: The N.E. & S.W. A. R. R. Co. have at length organized under a Charter. The Board of Directors are to meet on the 5th of Apl. next in this city, for the purpose of deciding upon the connections of said road.

The interest you were pleased to manifest in our making a connection with your city through Wills Valley, encourages me to apply to you for specific, and if possible *official* information

¹Colo. James A. Whitesides of Chattanooga, Tennessee, was an official of the Nashville & Chattanooga Company, but not its president.

on the following points, viz. 1st On what terms can we use the 5½ miles, of N[ashville] & C[hattanooga] Road? Can that company transmit to us a definite proposition by the time designated: 2nd What is the distance from Chattanooga to Charleston or to Cleveland? Can you send us a copy of the Engineers Report of the Survey of said route? 3rd Will that company (the Charleston Co) guarantee to us equal terms of connection at Chattanooga? 4th Will the necessity imposed upon that company of running 5 miles down the Ga. State Road before diverging for Charleston put it out of their power to place us as to our connection, on equal terms with a N. & C. R.? Any other information that will be useful to lay before our Board, I will gladly receive. With sentiments of high regard I am

Yr. obt. Svt.

L. C. Garland, Pres. N.E. & S.W. R.

Tuskaloosa Jan'y 23. 1854

Judge B. F. Porter². Pres. of Wills Val. R.R. Co.

My Dear Sir.

You disappointed me very much in not coming down to my house and accompanying me to the meeting of our stockholders in Eutaw.

Before I left your letter covering the resolutions of your Board reached me, which I laid before our Directory. They were not acted upon, but were spread upon the minutes for future consideration. Your second favor of the 12th covering terms of consolidation, I found on my table, after my return

²Benjamin F. Porter of Tuscaloosa, Alabama resided in DeKalb County, Alabama after his return from Charleston, South Carolina, after 1851. He became president of Will's Valley Railroad Company and was one of its incorporators, February 3, 1852. He was prominent in political affairs of Monroe County, Alabama, having been elected a legislator and Judge of Monroe County as well as judge of the 10th Judicial Circuit.

home. They will be presented to our Board at its next meeting. Nothing was done on the subject of our N.E. connection. I did not hear even the expression of an individual opinion. The whole subject was committed to the Directory with an order to ascertain as precisely as possible all the advantages & disadvantages of the several routes open to our occupation. They meet on Wed. the 5th of Apl. in this city; and if it would suit your convenience to be down, it might be well for your Co. to give us your presence on that occasion. Should you come I must insist upon making you my guest, and I then but poorly discharge the obligations I am under for your hospitality to me, on my visits to yr. vally [*sic*].

With kind regards,
I am Yrs. &
L. C. Garland

Tuskaloosa Jan'y 23. 1854

Mssrs Holt, Dyer & Criffith³

Gent.

Our Board of Directors meet on the 5th day of Apl.

³"Mr. Holt" appears in the index of the microfilm of this letterbook as: Page 3—Judge Holt—Both Judge William White Holt of Augusta, Georgia, and Judge Thaddeus G. Holt of Macon, Georgia, were prominent during this period. In the memoirs of Judge William White Holt of Augusta, Georgia, we find him a member of the Knoxville Convention where the Georgia delegation projected in July 1836 the Western & Atlantic Railroad and that he remained active on the committee until legislative action was adopted. This Judge Holt presided in the Superior Courts of the Middle District of Georgia for nineteen years. He died January 14, 1864, Augusta, Georgia.

The Honorable Hines Holt of Columbus, Georgia, attended the Southern Commercial Convention assembled in Montgomery, Alabama, in May, 1858, as a delegate at large along with Elisha Dyer of Georgia's 5th District.

The Reverend Edwin Dyer of LaFayette, Walker County, Georgia, was one of the Commissioners of the Charleston & Chattanooga Railroad Company.

Mr. William Griffith was an incorporator of the Cherokee Plankroad Company, February 9, 1852.

Tuscaloosa Jan'y 23. 1864
 Messrs. Mill, Dyer & Griffith
 Gent.

3

Our Board of Directors meet on the 5th day of sept next, & it is very desirable that they should have all the necessary information relative to the advantages of the Ch. Valley route. We want the report of an actual survey from Ringold to Cleveland, if not by an engineer, at least by a first class surveyor, so that no doubt may hang over that distance. My memorandum made at Cedar Bluff is 26 miles. But a gentleman raised in Cleveland, assures me that it is several miles longer. Let also the route by Opeluka to the Charleston R.R. at its most practicable point of junction be measured and reported. Send us a copy of the Survey of the Ala. Canal & Ch. V. R.R.

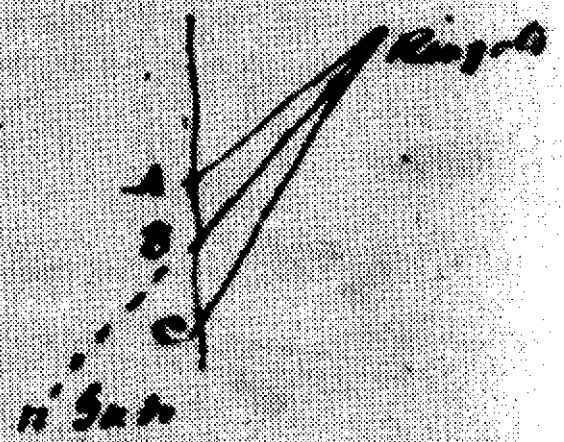
There is also another point on which we desire specific information. Corry reports three surveys from Ringold to the State line. Now does the Va. route survey join to either of them & if so to which?

The fig. will explain the point of enquiry. Corry has surveyed A. C. R. B. & R. C. Does the survey from Gordon to the State line, connect with either, & if so with which?

And if with neither, what will be

the distance from Gordon to Ringold by the Mountain valley?

We shall want very specific information on all these matters; and if nothing of you can come down, I hope you will furnish it by writing at full, and transmitting as many reliable and authentic documents as possible.



next, & it is very desirable that they should have all necessary information relative to the advantages of the Ch. Valley route. We want the report of an actual survey from Ringold to Cleveland, if not by an Engineer, at least by a trustworthy surveyor, so that no doubt may hang over that distance. My memorandum made at Cedar Bluff is 26 miles. But a gentleman raised in Cleveland assures me that it is several miles longer. Let also the route by Opelika to the Charleston R.R. at its most practicable point of junction be measured and reported. Send us a copy of the Survey of the Alab. Coosa & Chatt. Riv. R.R.

There is also another point on which we desire specific information relative to the advantages of the Ch. Valley State line. Now does the Gadsden survey join to either of them & if so to which? The fig. will explain the point of enquiry. [See plate facing for diagram.] Corry has surveyed R.A. RB & RC. Does the survey from Gadsden to the State line connect with either, & if so with which? And if with neither, what will be the distance from Gadsden to Ringold by the Broomtown(?) valley? We shall want very specific information on all these matters; and if neither of you can come down, I hope you will furnish it by writing at full, and transmitting as many reliable and authentic documents as possible. The subject of our N.E. connection has never been discussed, and public opinion is still unsettled in regard to the most advantageous route. You may however rest assured that our Directors, to whom the matter is committed, will give the fullest consideration to all the advantages of your route.

What has been your success with the Legislature of Georgia? I shall be pleased to hear from you at your earliest convenience. With Sentiments of high regard I am Gent.

Yr. obt. Svt.

L. C. Garland

N. B. In the American R.Way Guide I find that it is 13 miles from ~~Chattanooga~~ Cleveland [Tenn.] to Charleston [Tenn.] On my memo it is but 8.

Tuskaloosa Jan'y 23. 1854

Colo Wm O. Winston⁴

My Dear Sir.

On my return from Eutaw, whither I had gone to attend a meeting of the stockholders of the N.E. & S.W. R.R. Co. I found on my table your two favors, the one of the 7th the other of the 14th. Nothing was done at the meeting on the subject of the N.E. connection.

Before starting for Eutaw, I recieved [sic] from Judge Porter, Pres. of the Wills Valley R.R.Co. a letter covering the resolution passed by his Board [illegible] These I laid before our Directory, and they ordered them spread upon the minutes. Another letter from the same source, dated Jan'y 12th, and enclosing Forms of consolidation did not reach me in time to be disposed of in the same manner. I will however bring them before the Board at its next meeting.

I shall not have it in my power to attend your meeting on the 1st Monday in February. I will request our agent Jos. W. Taylor to attend, if he returns in time from, Georgia.

There is one point of difficulty to which I beg to call your attention, namely, the terms upon which the consolidated company can run their own engines and trains over the Nashville and Chattanooga Road to the City of Chattanooga. I am now corresponding with that company in relation to the matter; but you may materially promote such an arrangement as will be satisfactory to all the parties.

⁴Col. William O. Winston of DeKalb Co., Alabama—From 1850 for 15 years he served in both branches of the Legislature. Because President of the Will's Valley Railroad Company, which position he held up to the time of the war and since the war until 1867—He originated the internal improvement bill giving State aid to railroads, drew and reported it, and used his influence for its passage. He was an incorporator of the Gainesville and Narkeetah R. R. Co., January, 1836; Wills Valley R. R. Co., February 3, 1852; Gainesville and Mississippi R. R. Co., February 10, 1852; Georgia and Ala. Petroleum Mining and Manufacturing Co., February 23, 1866; New Orleans, Mobile and Chattanooga Railroad Co., November 24, 1866; Gainesville Manufacturing Co., February 19, 1867.

Our Directory meet on the 5th of Apl. at Tuskaloosa, at which time it may be well to have all needful information on the subject.

I recur with much ~~pleasure~~ to the few days I spent in your society. It will give me great pleasure satisfaction. to cultivate your acquaintance more extensively—and I hope an opportunity for so doing will not be wanting.

Remember me kindly to your family, and believe me to be with very high regard,

Yr. obt. Svt.
L. C. Garland

Tuskaloosa Jany 26. 1854

J. Was. Davis Esq.⁵

Dear Sir: Not knowing any one else upon whom I can impose a favor to our R.R. enterprise, I take the liberty of requesting you to order for our Engineer Corps two tents 9 feet square, made of the very "*stoutest tent cloth, completely water proof*", also two plys for the same, and two awnings to extend in front of the tents." The foregoing are the words of our Engineer, writing to us on the subject. Get some regular tent maker to execute the order to the letter, and let him look to me as President of the N.E. & S.W. R.R. Co., for payment The Engineer of the Mobile and Ohio R. R., if in your city, can give you specific information as to the quality of the material & the proper cost &c. While we want the best article, we do not want to pay more than its worth. Direct the maker to ship them to Thos. Maxwell & Co., Tuskaloosa. Immediately on their reception, I will send a draft for the amount of the bill.

⁵James Was. Davis of Bibb Co., Ala.—He was an incorporator of the Wetumpka & Montevallo R. R. Co., February 17, 1854. With slight intervals from 1832 through 1867, he has been in one branch of the General Assembly or the other continuously.

I will be glad to hear at your earliest convenience how Tom comes on.

I am very Resply

Yrs. &c

L. C. Garland

Tuskaloosa Jany 28 '54

W. W. Shearer Esq.⁶

Dear Sir.

I have received from Mr. Sanford a letter, which renders it necessary that I should go up immediately to the line of survey, for the purpose of giving him instructions. It is also necessary that I should see him before meeting the President & Directors of the Southern R. Road Co. As soon as I return from this tour to St. Clair, I will start for Brandon via Livingston. If you should not be at home, leave the map of our connection with some one who will deliver it to me. It is very important to me in arriving at a just conclusion concerning our interests. I will advise you of the day of my arrival at Livingston if it is possible, so that you may get up an audience as you expressed a desire to do.

With sentiments of the highest regard, I am

Yr. obt. Servt

L. C. Garland

⁶W. Waldo Shearer of Sumter Co., Ala., was an incorporator of the N. E. & S. W. Ala. R. R. Co., December 12, 1853, and also a member of the Board of Directors.

Tuskaloosa Jan 30. 1854

Rob: Jameson [sic] Esq.⁷

Dear Sir: I do not know that the N.E. & S.W. R.R.Co., will ever agitate the question of a tax in the several counties along the line of improvement. But in case it may be desirable to appeal to the people for aid, in a mode that imposes the burden in the most equitable manner upon the whole community, it may be well to provide by law for such a measure.

If it meets with your views I will thank you in behalf of the company to introduce such a bill, and to give it such an equitable shape, in apportioning the taxation, as will be likely to render it most acceptable to the people.

With sentiments of very high regard, I am

Yr. obt. Svt.

L. C. Garland

Tuskaloosa Jay [sic] 30, 1854My Dear Mr. Taylor.⁸

To you we entrust solely the procurement of the right of way from our sister states. This right will be necessary for us to obtain from Mississippi, and also from Tennessee. It will never do to join the Southern road at the State line, or to place

⁷Robert Jemison, Jr., of Tuscaloosa Co., Ala., served in the Senate prior to 1837; in House 1840, 1841, 1844, 1845, 1847, and 1849; in 1841 he was returned to Senate, of which he continued a member for 12 years. Mr. Jemison also projected and carried through the charter of the N. E. & S. W. R. R. He was also an incorporator of Sipsey Bridge & Causeway Co., January 10, 1835.

⁸Joseph W. Taylor of Greene Co., Ala., was elected in 1845 a member of the House of Representatives at age of 25. In 1847 he was again elected to House and served through 1st session at Montgomery. He served in the Senate in 1855 and was made chairman of the Committee on Education and was elected a Representative to Congress in the fall of 1865.

our business in the power of a trunk of the Mobile R. extended to meet us at the same point.

Moreover, as to our N.E. connection, whether we take the Will's Valley, or the Chattanooga valley route, we shall be obliged to pass through a portion of the territory of Tennessee, and so are under the necessity of obtaining the right of way from that State.

Colo. Whitesides of Chattanooga promised me last fall to attend to the procurement of a right of way through the Will's Vally, [sic] and more recently at the Cedar Bluff convention the Comrs. of the Coosa & Chattooga Co. in Georgia, promised me to procure for their road the right of way in Tennessee provided they succeeded in their own Legislature, in obtaining the privilege of crossing the State Road.

I would advise you to write to Colo. James A. Whitesides, and to Mr. Dyer, the former in Chattanooga, and the latter in La Fayette, Walker Co., Ga., for the purpose of ascertaining what they have done. And if nothing has been done, I would advise a visit to Nashville, before the Legislature of Tenn. adjourns.

If however, you ask for the right of way, in a line from Ringold to Cleveland, you must anticipate opposition from the Chattanooga interest. I mention this that you may proceed cautiously. I will further suggest asking for the right in general terms, such as passing through any part of Tenn. in order to connect with Knoxville.

I write on the eve of starting for the line of our survey, & of course in haste.

Yrs truly

L. C. Garland

Tuskaloosa
Feb: 9. 1854

To Mr. Marshall⁹
Pres: of S.R.R.

My Dear Sir:

I desire to see the President and Directors of the Southern Railroad, on business of importance, touching our mutual interests, as affected by our junction with the Ohio & Mobile Road.

I expect to reach Brandon on Saturday the 18th; and if on the following Monday or Tuesday, you can secure to me an interview with your Board, you will greatly oblige me.

I am Very Resply
Yr. ob. Svt

L. C. Garland
Pres. N.E. & S.W. R.R.

N.B. If you prefer holding the interview at Jackson, inform to that effect at Brandon.

Tuskaloosa Feb. 9 1854

To
E. D. Sanford Esq.¹⁰

There has been no meeting of the Directory of the Northeast and South West R.R. Co. since its organization, and consequently no action, defining your relation to the company, more precisely than that had upon the part of the Commissioners who engaged you to survey a route.

⁹T. A. Marshall was president of Southern Railroad of Vicksburg, Mississippi.

¹⁰E. D. Sanford was Chief Engineer of the N. E. & S. W. R. R. Co. He was considered a veteran railroad builder at this date.

Now, therefore, by virtue of the authority vested in me, as the President of the said company, you and your corps of Engineers are retained in the service of the company on the same terms agreed upon between yourself and the Commissioners; until such time as the Directory shall take more specific action in the matter.

And in the performance of your duty you will be guided by the following instructions, to wit:

1. You will extend the survey of the experimental line, to the town of Gadsden.

2. You will then return with your corps to the vicinity of Livingston, and commence the location of the Road, thence in the direction of Eutaw; without delaying for the purpose of making an estimate of cost from the notes of the experimental survey; and deferring the location below that point until the company shall have decided upon their Southwestern connection.

3. You will press forward the location with all possible expedition, laying aside for this purpose any other work, that can be deferred; inasmuch as the operations of the Company in obtaining stock, will be seriously affected by the progress of this work, many sections of the country declining to subscribe stock until the location is decided upon.

4. In making the location, you will adhere to the words of the Charter and present an estimate of a line run according to its requirements. But if at any point, the location involves an unusually large expenditure of money, you will report a better line, with the least possible divergence from that designated by the Charter; and will submit the whole to the Company for their future consideration.

5. After the general location is made, you will patiently and carefully spend what time may be necessary to perfect the same: so that you may be able to place the road upon the shortest and cheapest route that the topography of the country will admit of.

6. In regard to rival routes that spring up in every

neighborhood, you will before your final report, and at such times, as will least interfere with the progress of the work, make a personal reconnaissance [sic] of the same; but you will not put the company to the expense of an actual survey of any such route, when you are satisfied that it offers no advantage over that already surveyed.

7. In a word you will take all measures necessary to show, that your final location, is the very best that the country will admit of.

8. You will be expected to settle your accounts with the company quarterly, making the first settlement on the 5th of Apl next.

9. You will be expected to communicate to the President, any matters that you may from time to time deem of importance to the company.

L. C. Garland
Pres. of N.E. & S.W. R.R.

Tuskaloosa
Feb: 9. 1854

J. W. Davis Esq.
Mobile

Dear Sir:

Our Engineer is now with me, and although my letter quoted his language to us, yet he desires me to say—that by *water proof* tents, he did not mean that the material should be gum elastic, or painted cloth: but very stout cloth well put together. The Fly makes the tent water proof. Do not let the maker fall into any error on this score, so as to send us a very costly article.

Yors. very truly
L. C. Garland

Tuskaloosa
Feb. 9, 1854

E. D. Sanford Esq.

Dear Sir.

It was with surprise and regret, that I read the letter you left in my hands on your departure from my house. While travelling together I asked you to inform me in respect to all the usages of Railroad companies, that I might in the discharge of my duties avail myself of the experience and observation of others. On your stating that you expected to be appointed Engineer in Chief of the road by the Directory, if you continued in their service, I told you that I presumed the Directory had taken no action on the subject, either because it was forgotten or because they regarded the approval of the proceedings of the Comrs by the stockholders a recognition of your appointment, or because they adjourned without being fully organized. I assured you that their omission was not the result of a want either of courtesy towards you or of a disposition to continue your services. And when you expressed delicately your embarrassment in acting without either authority or instruction, I stated my fears that we could not get a meeting of the Directors before the 5th of Apl, the time appointed for their quarterly convocation: but that to relieve you from all embarrassment, I would assume under the powers given me, to continue your service until that time on terms agreed between yourself and the Commissioners, and give also general instructions in regard to the conduct of the survey. I fully advised with you in regard to all matters touching the survey & location of the road, and felt gratified that I could fully adopt your suggestions. And I understood it as agreed between us that I was to draw up according to those views, a paper which should confirm your connection with the company and that of your corps as it had before existed &c and to point out the general features of the survey.

While you were a guest under my roof I drew such a paper up, and read it to you and requested you to suggest any alterations either in matter or in form. I asked the question pointedly,

whether the paper in all respects was agreeable to your feelings. You stated that it was, or words that made that impression on my mind. You will therefore understand the surprise with which I read your note, declining to act under the authority of that paper. I am sorry that you were not more frank when I thus approached you to know your views upon the subject. I certainly should not have obtruded instructions upon you. As it is, I hope you will allow me to withdraw that paper and that you will not predicate any of your actions upon it.

I have ascertained, since you left, that Mssrs Battle & A.B. Dearing of Tusk, and Mssrs Shearer & Pharis of Sumter are absent from their homes; With no hope of Success, therefore, could I call a meeting of the Directors at the present time: But on my return from Brandon, I will call a meeting at Eutaw, when I hope the matter may be put in a shape, more conformable with your views, and more agreeable to your feelings.

I am Very Resply.

Yr. obt. Svt.

L. C. Garland

Tuskaloosa, Ala.

Feb: 10. 1854

Mssrs. Holt Patton & Dyer

Comrs. of the C. & Ch. R.R. Co. Ga.

Lafayette Ga.

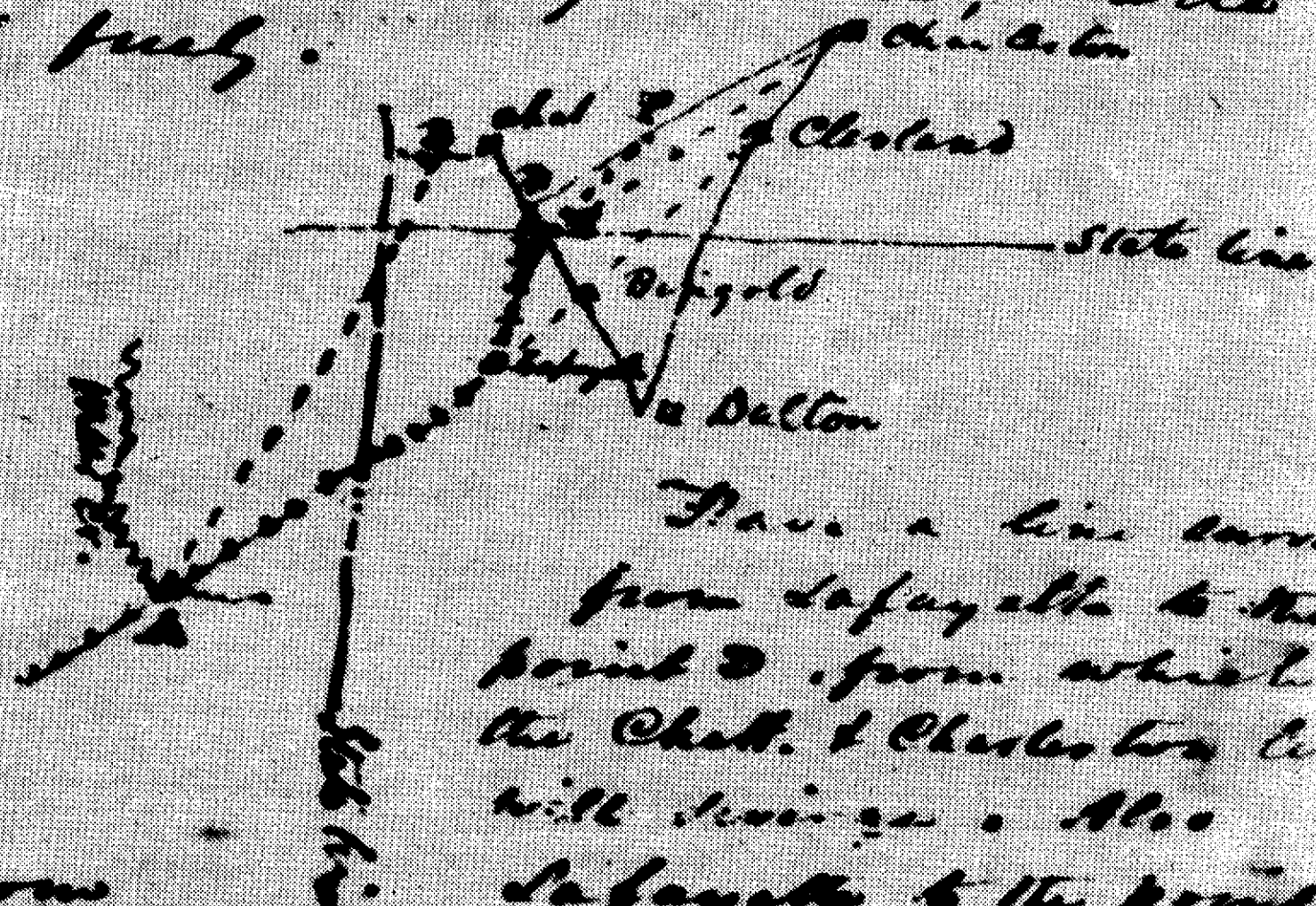
Gent:

I returned home on yesterday after an absence of 10 days and found two communications from you, the contents of which I have maturely considered.

In regard to the proffered assistance from Selma, it will prove deceptive. They are altogether dependent upon State

Indeed I find on my file, a letter from Mr. Taylor announcing the defeat of his mission. I regret this exceedingly as it affects the proposition of our connection.

As you ask my advice, I will give it freely.



another from

B, when the State Road crosses the state line; and then from B to T. It seems

to me that your Charter authorizes you to run either to D or to B as you may elect. Butting to B, within one foot of the state line. If Tennessee will then give us the right to run from B to T, or even to Charleston, if favorable terms of connection with the Chatt. & Charleston R.R. cannot be obtained, the connection with your present charter is still possible.

aid to complete their own road, And should they do so, and we form a connection through Wills Valley, they would not be able to compete with a road so much cheaper and shorter than ours.

If we connect with you, we will subscribe the iron, to be delivered after the completion of our own road. At least that is my confirmed opinion.

Your letters therefore do not convey to my mind any thing particularly alarming, except the rejection of your application by the Legislature of Georgia. Indeed I find on my table, a letter from Mr. Taylor announcing the defeat of his mission. I regret this exceedingly as it affects the proposition of our connection.

As you ask my advice, I will give it freely.

[See plate facing for diagram.]

Have a line surveyed from Lafayette to the point D. from which the Chatt. & Charleston line will diverge. Also another from Lafayette to the point E, where the State Road crosses the state line; and thence from E to F. It seems to me that your Charter authorises you to run either to D or to E as you may elect. Certainly to E, within one foot of the state line. If Tennessee will then give us the right to run from E to F, or even to Charleston if favorable terms of connection with the Chatt. & Charleston Road cannot be obtained, the connection under your present Charter is still possible.

Should the two roads at the Ga. line not be continuous, but separated a few feet, the transfer of passengers would involve no expense to either company, as the baggage trucks could be mounted on platforms and transferred without breaking up and transporting trunks &c. in detail. And such a connection, as it would secure substantially the objects sought to be secured by your application which has failed, would soon be changed into one more eligible, by the recession of the legislature of Ga.. as the motive for their late refusal would no longer exist.

I shall advise our agent to visit the Legislature of Tenn. and obtain the right to run our road either D or E to F or to Charleston, unless you have already obtained for yourselves such a privilege through Mr. Dyer.

Now whether the proposed route is shorter or more practicable than that through Dade, I have no means of conjecturing. I cannot say what the probability is that our company would be disposed to connect over the route as suggested. They will take the shortest and best that offers itself, and before the rejection of your application, I thought your route more direct, and less encumbered with inconvenient connections than the other. I think an agent of yours had better attend the meeting of our Directory of the 5th of Ap. next, furnished with all information necessary to a final settlement of the question.

Should you connect with us, we will join you at the State Line, and the people of Cherokee along the line, have in many cases assured me, that they will take stock in our road, in preference to the Ala. Chatt. & Coosa R.R. If that company proves disinclined to make a part of the connection just let them go their own way, without opposition. The people will see their true interests, and will act accordingly.

Since writing the above I have received a paper containing the statement that the Charter through Dade is granted. Unless there are some serious difficulties in connecting at Chattanooga, this fact will greatly influence the disposition of our stockholders to connect with that line. Still however, investigate your advantages under your present charter, & see what they are.

Yrs. very Resp'y.

L. C. Garland

Tuskaloosa
Feb: 10, 1854

R. Jemison Esq.

My Dear Sir.

I drop you this note to say, that if you think it wise to

introduce a bill to submit to the people of the counties along the line of the N.E. & S.W. R.R. the question of taxation, it will be important in my judgment to frame the law so as to scale the amount of taxation to the distance of property from the road: making the amount merely nominal beyond one day's travel of a waggon and team to and from the road. This will be likely to obviate any serious objections to the law.

It will certainly be inexpedient to agitate at this time the subject of taxation; and if our Legislature met annually, it would be best to let the subject alone for the present; but it may become necessary & advisable at some future time, to urge such a policy upon people, and the prop. time for so doing may arrive before another meeting of the Legislature.

I think it would be well to avoid the word *taxation* which is so odious in the public year [*sic*] and substitute therefor the word *subscription* or some other more consonant with the nature of the measure.

I would respectfully suggest a convocation of, and a consultation with, the delegates along the line, and the propriety of introducing the bill at the present session. If it is likely to produce prejudice against the enterprise, it should be abandoned.

With sentiments of high regard, I am

Yr. obt Svt.
L. C. Garland

Tuskaloosa. Mar. 12. 1854

Colo. Whitesides

Dear Sir.

I have just touched at home a few hours on my way to Washington, and can only make a very brief reply to your letter.

Our occupancy of the Wills Valley will depend upon the connection we may be able to make at Chattanooga. Will the E. Tenn. & Ga. roads favor us more by a connection in Chatt., than at Cleveland? In plain words, will that company, give us through tickets in preference to the Selma Company, that will unite at Cleveland if we do not? If so, we will unite at Chattanooga.

2ndly Is the road around the point of Lookout Mtn. graded wide enough for two tracks? And will the Comrs write us word what they will sell the right of the second track for—This has been our greatest difficulty—It will not answer well for two companies to use the same track, especially if their business should be heavy—And if there is not enough space for two tracks, will it not be exceedingly costly to excavate another from the solid rock? We are anxious to connect at Chattanooga, if it shall appear to be our interest to do so. You naturally desire that we should do so. Will you therefore obtain such information as may be important to our Board in deciding so interesting a matter, and transmit to me prior to the 5th of Apl. on which day we meet. Or what is better, can you not come down & attend our meeting as a delegate from your City? We wish to act judiciously; with all the light we can possibly obtain. But the main points are those indicated above, the road around the Lookout, and the favor extended to our road by the E.T. & Ga. Company.

In very great haste, I am with high regards,

Yr. obt. Svt.
L. C. Garland

Tuskaloosa
Apl. 7. 1854

To The President &
Directors of the Will's Vally [sic]
Rail Road Co.

Gent.

Enclosed you will find the resolutions of the N.E. & S.W. R.R. Co, adopted this day, relative to the North Eastern connection of the road.

Our Board was favorably impressed with all the features of your route, but that of building a track around the point of Lookout Mtn., or of using in common a part of the track of the Nashville & Chattanooga company.

I am directed to offer specific terms to that company, respecting the use of its road, in case we consolidate with you—so that the doubt upon this point will soon be cleared up. Our Engineer also is instructed to estimate the cost of building an additional track around the point of Lookout Mtn. We do not doubt from Mr. Whitesides letters, that these points of inquiry will be satisfactorily cleared up.

We regretted that your company had no delegate in attendance at our meeting. There were four from Ga., but the correspondence I had held with your company, and specially with Colo. Whitesides, enable me to present the features of your route, so as to compare favorable with those of the Chattanooga route. Their line to Cleveland was only $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile shorter according to Cory' [sic] survey. They claim however to have a different line shorter by 5 miles. Our Board has consented to await a resurvey, only because there were unsettled matters relative to point of Lookout Mountain. Had your company appeared with a satisfactory showing on that point, we should have been ready to accept your terms of consolidation, with a single modification, to wit, that the debts of your company be paid out of your own stock, and that the first collections made be appropriated to the discharge of them. Will you please inform us at your earliest convenience of your willingness to this modification.

We have closed our meeting with great encouragement; and there is no reason to doubt the final success of our enterprise.

I am, Gent. with
high regards

Yr. obt. Svt.

L. C. Garland

Pres. N.E. & S.W. R.R.

Office of the N.E. & S.W. Ala. R.R. Co.
at Tuscaloosa Apl. 7. 1854

Gent.

In case the N.E. & S.W. Ala. Railroad Company, shall consolidate with the Will's Valley Company, we shall want, for some time at least, to exercise the right running over $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles of your track terminating at Chattanooga, and ultimately the right of widening your road bed for an additional track of our own.

The object of this communication is to enquire, whether or not, The Nashville and Chattanooga Co. will guarantee to the N.E. & S.W. Co. these desired rights upon the terms following to wit:

1. That the right of using a part of the track of the N. & C. R.R. Co. be guaranteed for three years, if desired for so great a length of time.

2. That three years shall be given by either party in order to be a legal dissolution of the contract

3. That the passage of the trains over the track used in common, shall be regulated by a schedule agreed upon by the contracting parties.

4. That the N.E. & S.W. R.R. Co. shall pay to the Treasurer of the Nashville & Chattanooga Co. half the gross income derived from the use of the track.

It is very desirable to obtain from the Nashville & Chattanooga R.R. Co., the right in perpetuity to build an additional track by the widening of their road bed around Lookout Mountain—and also to switch in and out of their track, for 500 or 600 feet, at the most difficult point of the bluff. As this privilege can in no wise interfer[e] with the use of their own track, and can be to them a source of no loss or inconvenience, the N.E. & S.W. Co. hope, that the N. & Ch. Co. may grant the privilege without compensation, and in the spirit of friendly aid to a company that will ever be ready to reciprocate the favors it may receive from others.

Desiring to hear from you at your earliest convenience, I
am Gent.,

Very Resply.

Yr. obt. Svt.

L. C. Garland

Pres. N.E. & S.W. Co.

To Messrs.

)

) Comrs of;

) Nash. & Chatt. R.R. Co.

)

Office of the N.E. & S.W. ALA. R.R. Co.
at Tuskaloosa, Ala.

Apl 7. 1854

My Dear Sir¹¹

The Directory of this Co. has just closed a meeting at which it was desired that I should hold at once a conference with your company respecting your views touching a connection of the N.E. & S.W.A. R.R. and the E. Tenn. & Ga. R.R. either at Cleveland or Chattanooga or some intermediate point. Your views will materially affect the decision of this Co., in regard to a consolidation with the Chattooga Vally [*sic*] Co., or with the Wills Vally [*sic*] Company. We were disposed, other things being equal, to connect at Cleveland in order that no other road might interpose between yours and ours. We learn however, that you are to build the road from Cleveland to Chattanooga, so that, at the latter place, we can also connect without the intervention of any other road. The question now is whether you are indifferent as to the point of connection, and whether you will show us the same favors, connecting at either of the points. My engagements do not allow me to visit your company, but I

¹¹The letter was probably addressed to Col. J. A. Whitesides.

hope that we may recieve [sic] a reply, giving us as full and explicit information upon the subject, as I could have procured by means of a personal interview.

The Chattooga Company are specially interested in the matter and propose sending an agent to confer with you in relation therto. Our interests are the same with theirs, should we finally conclude to occupy the Chattoga Vally [sic]. I shall be pleased to here [sic] from you at your earliest convenience.

In haste—Yrs. Very Resply
L. C. Garland

Tuskaloosa Apl. 7. 1854.

E. D. Sanford Esq.
Eng. in Chief N.E. & S.W. R.R.

My Dear Sir.

The Board of Directors of the N.E. & S.W. Ala. Co. have unanimously elected you Chief Engineer of the Road, & have given you the right to organize your corps of assistants. During the location they have continued the rates of compensation as agreed upon between yourself and the Comrs.: and after the construction begins, they have acceded to the terms of your letter addressed from Camp Colvin, making however \$1200 the maximum salary for assistants.

They also, from and after the same period, have authorized you to employ your uncle as consulting Engineer: at a compensation not exceeding \$1500 pr. annum. They do not wish to incur this additional expense until it is absolutely necessary to do so, and then for so long a time only as may be absolutely required by the nature & progress of the work.

It is yet a very doubtful matter whether we shall be able to prosecute our enterprise. It is very difficult to meet the

current expense of the year, and there was very great discouragement arising from the unexpected costliness of the survey. The outfit has cost \$1361.20 and the current expenses of the survey besides the outfit have amounted to \$861.81 pr. month. We hope that you will institute as rigid a system of economy as is consistent with the efficiency and comfort of the Corps—and the Board desires me to say, that, inasmuch as considerable expense has been incurred to secure the corps all the comforts of camp life, hotel expenses be reduced as much as possible.

We have lost a good many subscriptions for the want of cultivating the good will of those interested in routes, that are supposed to [be] superior to that you have selected. You will not understand the Board as sharing such opinions—but they feel the importance of conciliating those communities in which they have to make appeals for aid in building the road. They wish to disturb as little as possible the final location of the road, but they think that your personal reconnaissance of such lines would give satisfaction to the public, and not seriously retard the operations of your Corps. Their views were expressed in the following resolution, to wit:

“Resolved—That it is important to the operations of this Company in procuring stock that the friends of the various rival routes along the line be conciliated as far as possible, and that with a view to this end, the Chief Engineer is instructed to make a general reconnaissance of such routes as claim a superiority over the trial line: but that time and money are not to be expended in the actual survey of such, unless upon personal examination the Engineer considers them worthy of the same—and that such personal reconnaissances be made if possible, in advance of the approximate location.

“Resolved: That this Company stands pledged through the Comrs. to an examination of the route between Eutaw and Tuskalooosa lying eastward of the Warrior River, and that the Engineer in Chief, be instructed to make a personal reconnaissance of the same, before departing from the vicinity of Tuskalooosa.”

You asked for an interpretation of the localities named in

the Charter. The opinion of the Board was expressed in the following resolution to wit:

“Resolved—That the Engineer in Chief be instructed in making the final location to adhere to the location named in the charter, & in respect to the phrase “at or near” Bluff Port, he will present estimates of two lines, the one crossing directly at Bluffport and the other—at the most practicable point near that place, above or below.”

In looking over the minutes I do not see any other resolutions in which you [are] specially interested. I should be glad to fall in with you, on my way to Eutaw, were [sic] I address the people on next Monday.

I thank you for the promptness with which you sent the map of the survey in the vicinity of Gadsden—It answered very fully the purposes of the Board—and saved us from being led into a serious error by the Georgia delegation.

An Executive Comtee has been appointed at your suggestion composed of Mssrs Shearer, McAlpine, Dearing, Battle & Mudd—any one of whom with the Pres: or, any two of whom in his absence may act.

I have a large correspondence to bring up and write in haste.

Yrs. Very Truly
L. C. Garland

Tuskaloosa June 1854

Saml. Hawkins Esq.¹²
Summerville

Dear Sir.

¹²Samuel Hawkins was of Summerville, Chatooga County, Georgia.

J. N. Anderson, Esqr. was a leading industrialist and railroad magnate of this period in Virginia. It is recalled that Mr. Garland also was a native of Virginia.

Your favor of the 28th reached me today. I am gratified to learn the success of your railroad enterprise. As to our N.E. connections, we have done nothing since your visit. That matter will be determined by our Board at its next regular meeting in Eutaw the 5th of July. If you cannot have a representative there, which is best, write fully giving authentic statements of distances, cost of grading, and subscriptions raised. These are the points upon which our Board desires information, and upon which their decision will rest.

We are greatly encouraged in our enterprize. We shall get the grading to the Wills Creek and six hundred thousand dollars, by this fall. We expect to go to work on the first of Jan'y

Yrs truly
L. C. Garland

Address me immediately to
Eutaw Greene Co. Ala. where
I shall [illegible] & receive your communications
in time for our meeting.

Tuscaloosa June 7. 1854

Colo. Jas. Whitesides
Chattanooga

Dear Sir.

I have just this moment received a letter from Mr. Stevenson, Pres. of N. & Ch. R. R. Co., favourable to our connection at your city.

If you can not attend the meeting of our Directory in Eutaw, Greene Co. on the 5th of July, will you write to me (directing to that place) a full and if possible authentic statement of the distances along your line to Cleveland [sic] and also your views in regard to the advantages of a connection at Chattanooga.

Let me also know the terms on which we can procure suitable ground for a depot in the city, and what its situation would be relative to the grounds of our connecting roads.

Will your city be disposed to subscribe \$50 000 additional to its former subscription to the Wills Vally [sic] Co. and to make the whole payable under our Charter in one, two, & three years beginning with 1855? In short, if you do not come down, or send an agent, write fully on every point necessary to the decision of our Board —

Our prospects are brightening. Notwithstanding our perplexities growing out of hostility of rival routes in Greene & Sumter, we shall during the summer obtain our grading to Wills Creek, and Six hundred thousand dollars.—which last, or as much as may be necessary, we propose to use as a bonus to a northern company to manufacture our rails on the line of our road, and to take our stock in pay for the same.

If you can yourself be present in Eutaw on the 5th, you will serve your own interests most effectually, and perhaps secure the connection of our road. Do come.

With very high regard
I am Yr. obt. Svt.
L. C. Garland

Tuskaloosa June 7. 1854

My Dear Sir.

At the hazard of being thought troublesome, I drop you a line to procure information on the following points, not fully given in your former communication.

1. How many superintendents would be required for a set of rolling mills, to turn out 10 000 tons of rail road iron pr. annum.

2. How many slaves would be required? and whether under proper superintendence, slaves could do the work.

3. What do you give for pig iron? What is the profit you pay the producer, that we may form an estimate of the prime cost of making pig iron.

4. What is the cost of purifying the pig iron? and what number of hands does that department require?

5. Have you any knowledge of Rentor's process? and what do you think of it? Does it seem easy, & is it easy of application?

You will confer a great favor on our Directory, if you will answer the above queries with as little delay as possible, and will also give any other information relative to the iron making business.

Would it be difficult to procure quality and skill for the superintendence of our works? We would give the largest salaries to secure these qualifications—but where are they to be found? and how can we guard against their opposites? We are ignorant—but we are cautious, and do not mean to take any false step, if we can prevent it.

With very high regard

Yr. obt. Svt.

L. C. Garland

Pres. N.E. & S.W. Ala. Railroad

J. N. Anderson Esqr

Richmond

Va.

Tuskaloosa

June 7. 1854

Rev. Edwin Dyer—

Dear Sir.

I have paid a flying visit to my family and find on my table your favor of the 24th ult.

Since you were here, we have done nothing towards closing our N.E. connection—but to write to the Nash. & Chatt. Co. to know on what terms we may run over part of their track. There has been no meeting of the Board since, nor will there be until the 5th of July at Eutaw, at which time if all the data are before us, we shall certainly decide the matter. Do come down, or otherwise send to me, directed to Eutaw, all documents from companies and engineers, that relate to distances, cost of grading, amount of stock actually and likely to be raised, that your interests may be properly represented, and we enabled to act judiciously—

Our prospects are brightening daily.

In great haste.

Yrs. truly
L. C. Garland

[Note: More than five months passed without correspondence or press news. This is particularly regrettable as the Board was scheduled to meet July 5, 1854, Eutaw.]

Office of the N.E. & S.W. A. R. R. Co.

Tuskaloosa Nov: 20 1854

C. G. Gunter Esq.¹³

The joint communication of yourself and J. H. Gindrat¹⁴

¹³Charles G. Gunter of Montgomery County, Alabama, was an incorporator of the Montgomery & Selma R. R. Co., February 21, 1860.

¹⁴J. H. Gindrat (John Gindrat) of Montgomery County, Ala. was a member of the Board of Directors of the N. E. & S. W. Railroad.

arrived at this office during my absence on the lower part of our line, from which I did not return until yesterday. In reply I have to say that the facilities for manufacturing iron on the line of the road are reported by the state geologist and by practical iron masters, as exceeding those of any locality in the U.S. Wishing to avail themselves of these advantages and to educate the country in one of its most important industrial pursuits, it is the decision of the stockholders of the N.E. & S.W. Railroad either to make the iron, or procure the making of it in the county of Jefferson. For the purpose of accomplishing this object, if it be deemed our true policy, we have \$600,000 which has been set apart for this purpose—not to be touched for any other purpose whatsoever than that of clothing the road with iron. We have besides the grading of the whole road (200 miles) provided for with the exception of a few miles in Greene.

We have not yet so far matured the plans as to make definite propositions, but we shall be glad to hear from you on the subject, if you have on your part any propositions or suggestions to make.

I am Very Resply

Yr. obt. Svt.

L. C. Garland

Pres. of N.E. & S.W. R.

Tuskaloosa Jan'y 13. 1855

To

The local Directory of Sumter Co.

Gent.

By an order of the Directors of the N.E. & S.W. Ala. Railroad Company made at their late meeting at Eutaw, you are to appoint an agent to canvass your county actively during several weeks, in order to raise its proportion (say \$25 000) of

the fund designed to meet all the expenses of the company the next three years. Nothing was said about compensation, that being left to your judgment and the circumstances of the case. It occurs to me that the most satisfactory compensation will be a specified per. cent. upon the new stock raised, for then your agent might attend in part to his private matters, and yet canvass the county thoroughly by the next meeting of the Directors on the 29th of March. The compensation ought to be sufficiently liberal to secure the best qualifications for the business. and I do not know a man better qualified than Mr. Shearer, if he can be employed.

You are also to employ a suitable collector; and as Mr. Shearer obtained a considerable part of the subscriptions, it is very desirable to get him to perform this service.

It was likewise ordered that the agent to solicit new subscriptions, obtain the right of way, and report specially the cases in which the right may be withheld. This had better be done at once, and let the agent take a second witness along with himself—and obtain all the signatures to one deed, which will save the company a considerable expense for recording. As soon as the signatures are obtained, have the deed recorded in your office.

Where the right of way is refused, let the local directory compromise by offering a certain sum to be paid in stock. It is best not to bring such questions before Juries; and I think it highly probable that you can procure the right of way in every case where refused, by offering a small amount of stock. Tell such persons that we have no money to pay, and that we will not go forward until the relinquishments are obtained. Read to such also that clause of the charter which requires the Jury to take into view the advantages as well as the disadvantages created by the road.

Remember also, that the Charter empowers guardians to sign a relinquishment of the right of way through the estates of minors.

It is very important that all these local matters may be closed up by the 29th of March.

I am Very Truly

Yr. Ob. St.

L. C. Garland

Pres. N.E. & S.W. R.

Office of the N.E. & S.W. R.R. Co.

Tuskaloosa Jan'y 13. 1855

To

The local Directory of Greene Co.

Gent.

By an order of the Directors of the N.E. & S.W. R. Road Co. made at their late meeting in Eutaw, you are to appoint an agent to obtain the relinquishments of the right of way and to canvass your county for its portion (say \$25 000) of the fund designed to defray all the expenses of the company for the next three years. Nothing was said about compensation, that being left to your judgment and the circumstances of the case. Be liberal enough to procure the best qualifications; and perhaps since it is a temporary office of only a few weeks duration, the employee may prefer to receive a stipulated per. cent. upon the stock he raises, as this mode of compensation will allow him to attend to the business at such times only as he may abstract from his own private business.

In procuring the relinquishments of the right of way, let all the signatures be attached to the same deed. This will save the expense of recording many deeds. It will be necessary for the agent to take a witness along with him. Let him also report, after his work is finished, such persons as refuse the right of way, that measures may be taken to compromise with them and to purchase the right by a certificate of stock.

According to the Charter, guardians may relinquish for their wards.

It has also been made your duty to appoint a judicious and active collector for your county, whom you will compensate properly, though with as little expense as possible, and from whom you will take a bond for as large an amount as is likely to fall into his hands at any one time. It is important that all these local matters be closed by the 29th of March.

Yrs. truly
L. C. Garland
Pres. N.E. & S.W. Co.

Office of the N.E. & S.W. Ala. R.R. Co.
Tuskaloosa Jan'y 15. 55

To
Wm.O. Winston Esq.

Dear Sir.

I had the pleasure of meeting Col. Whiteside [*sic*] at Eutaw. He told me that you & he had written to me immediately after the stockholders meeting at Valley Head. That letter was never received and I knew nothing whatsoever of your proceedings, until I met with the Colonel. This fact will explain my silence, of which you had some right to complain. I am glad that you have settled up most of your old accounts, in a manner satisfactory to all parties concerned. I regret that you did not close Judge Porter's account. It will be proper to do so, at the earliest convenient period. He writes me that he is held responsible for *two* sets of instruments, sold to the N.E. & S.W. Co. He is mistaken as to the fact of the purchase of two sets by our company. Our engineer sent for *one* set: but Judge Porter sent two. Of these our Engineer selected one and left the other in the care of Mr. Vance of St. Clair; of which fact Judge Porter was apprised, or ought to have been apprised. Doubtless the second set is now at Vance's: and although materially damaged, I have directed the corps of the N.E. & S.W. Road, to take

possession of it when they reach that part of their line, which they will do in a few weeks. For this second set, if we get them into possession, we will account to the Will's Valley Co. and not to Judge Porter; so that you will release him from all obligation on that account. If however he has gotten them into his possession, we will have nothing to do with them. If I knew how to get a letter to Vance, I would write him to deliver the instruments only to Mr. Sanford's order: and perhaps it may be well for you to do so, or even to send a messenger with a note to that effect. Be this however as you please: but the responsibility of the N.E. & S.W. Co. can begin only with the possession of the instruments.

You have learned through the papers the encouraging condition of our affairs. You will receive shortly a copy of the annual report, which will inform you of our past transactions and of our future plans. With a view to bind our subscriptions on the entire line, I was compelled to subscribe \$34,000 as the Pres. of the Will's Valley Co. to the grading below Wills Creek. The report shows that surplus over and above the estimate for grading, culverts and bridges along your line. The subscription is subject to the ratifications of the Will's Valley Co., and is payable only after your grading is performed, that there may be no abstraction from the funds necessary to prepare the bed of the road for the iron along your line. You will perceive when you read the report, that it was done to save the charter. I only had an opportunity of consulting Colo. J.A. Whitesides, who approved of & recommended the course I pursued. In due time and form I will lay the whole matter before your board.

Mr. Sanford is organizing a corps to receive the hands and camp equipage from his present corps when they arrive at Wills's Creek, at the head of which will be Mr. Corry as his principal assistant. The business of that corps will be to prepare the Will's Valley line for letting as speedily as possible.

I leave in a few days for all the important iron works in the United States with the view of trying to turn to account the facilities we possess for the home manufacture of our rails. I have gotten the consent of Colo Whiteside [sic] to accompany me, whose association in the business will add very much to the

public confidence in any report I may draw up, after my return home.

If a formal acceptance of the presidency of your company¹⁵ be deemed necessary after the compact between the two companies provides for an identity of officers, you will consider this communication is such—

In haste

I am truly

Yr. frd. & svt.

L. C. Garland

N.B. Mrs. Winston wanted to be sent by mail some rare rose slips that can be gotten in the gardens here—If she will address me a line informing me of what she wants I will send them in any manner she may direct.

Office of the N.E. & S.W. Ala. R.R. Co.
Tuskaloosa Jan'y 15. 1855

To

B. F. Porter Esq.

My Dear Sir —

Your favor reached this office during my visit to Greene, from which I did not return until three days ago. Supposing that you were mistaken in regard to the purchase of two sets of instruments by Mr. Sanford, I addressed him a note, to which the following is a reply —

¹⁵L. C. Garland had been offered the presidency after the union of The Wills Valley Railroad with the N. E. & S. W. Ala. R. R. Co., Col. Wm. O. Winston was then president of the Wills Valley Railroad.

To L. C. Garland Pres. &c.

Dear Sir. Learning through Mr. Oliver that we could obtain instruments from the Wills Valley Co., I dispatched a messenger (Mr. Mann) with a note requesting that one set, namely a transit and level should be sent while we were upon the upper end of the line and upon the first survey.

Judge Porter instead of sending *one set*, sent out *two sets* and I was obliged to leave one (as we had no use for them) at Mr. Vance's, from which place I addressed a letter to Judge Porter advising him as to where we had left the instruments, and including therein an account for the single set which we retained — This letter I left in your possession at the time, as the settlement for the instruments would naturally devolve upon yourself. Very Resply. Yr. obt. Svt. (Signed) E. D. Sanford.

Tuskaloosa Jan'y 15 1855.

The letter referred to, I must have mailed to you; but I have no positive recollection in regard thereto.

The other set is still at Vance's: and as we have now in going forward with the construction of our work, to purchase three or four new sets. I will direct our Engineer to re-examine them and to take them at cost, minus the necessary repairs, provided they are at Vance's when he reaches that point again. In case he takes them, this Co. will assume to settle with the Will's Valley Co. for the same, in which case you will be released from all responsibility on their account.

I saw Colo. Whiteside [*sic*] at Eutaw. I am sorry your accounts were not settled. It is important to you & the company that this be done as speedily as possible. I am surprised, however, to hear you speak of instituting a suit to force settlement; for if I did not misunderstand Colo. Whiteside [*sic*] the company was anxious to close your account, but you were not ready. I see no necessity to urge matters to an extremity which would beget ill-will between yourself [&] the company. I am sure that a settlement may be speedily had without such a resort, and

I hope, when had, that it will prove altogether satisfactory to the parties concerned. I do not suppose that I can attend any meeting of the Board myself earlier than July—but your settlement need not be deferred upon that account—Whenever you are ready for me, I will order a meeting to attend specially to the business.

Though our Board regret very much the cessation of the Post, still they are disinclined to vest any funds in the purchase of the press and type, or to provide for the regular publication of the paper. True, the paper is very much wanted, but they hope that it may be revived by private enterprise.

I am Very Resply
Yr. mo. obt. Svt.
L. C. Garland

Office of the N.E. & S.W. Ala. R.R. Co.
at Tuscaloosa Jan'y 15. 1855

R. H. Tatum Esq.¹⁶

My Dear Sir.

Your favor of Dec. 19th reached this office, during my absence from home—and hence the delay in transmitting a reply.

Our Engineer in Chief, E. D. Sanford Esq. is organizing a corps, with Mr. Corry at its head as his principal assistant, to run out the line and locate the road along the Will's and Lookout Valleys, as speedily as possible. Our affairs are in a prosperous condition, and we hope soon to have the road under contract the whole distance of 300 miles.

We are obliged to put on the whole line \$150 000 more, to

¹⁶R. H. Tatum of Dade Co., Ala.

render the completion of the road in 3½ years certain. Some \$10 or \$15 000 will fall on Dade [County, Ga.], and I hope in the certain prospect of a speedy completion, your people will cheerfully respond to the call. I will send you a copy of our Report as soon as it is printed.

Yrs. truly
L. C. Garland

Office of the N.E. & S.W. Ala. R.R. Co.
Tuskaloosa Jan'y 15. 1855

To

Jno. M. Moore Esq¹⁷
Talladega.

Dear Sir.

Your favor of the 25th arrived at this office during my absence, and hence the delay in transmitting an answer.

I am about to visit all the principal iron works in the U.S. to ascertain what we can do towards manufacturing or procuring the manufacture of our rails in Roup Vally [*sic*]. We prefer to procure their manufacture: and are not disposed to advance money to erect the works. Because no company can have the ability to carry on the works after their erection by us, if they are not able to erect them. For instance, suppose the grounds, works buildings, &c. cost \$300 000. Now the works, according to Anderson's¹⁸ estimate will employ 500 hands. How can a company feed, clothe, and hire this force, and incur

¹⁷John M. Moore, of Talladega, was an incorporator in the Benton Co. Iron Works, February 10, 1852; Ala. Roofing Slate Co., January 24, 1856; Ala. Manufacturing Co. at Selma, February 8, 1856; and the John M. Moore Copper Mining Co., January 26, 1858.

¹⁸J. N. Anderson, Esq., Richmond, Virginia. See letter dated June 7, 1854.

all the expenses of the manufacture if they cannot raise \$300 000?

Let the company put up the works at their cost. Then they may expect aid from the Railroad Co. They will have laid a basis of credit, and have given an earnest of their intention to carry their business forward.

What we wish to accomplish is this, to give a *bonus* in cash, for the privilege of buying the iron with our stock at the market price, made either on or off the road. Thus: suppose we can make a bargain of this sort with a company—Deliver to us 8 miles of road pr. month, for which we will pay you *cash* at the rate iron may be selling for at the North, until we have paid the sum of dollars, the bonus agreed on, whether 3, or 4, or \$500 000. After that we will pay you with certificates of stock until the whole iron is delivered. At which time we will issue to you an additional certificate of stock to the amount of the *bonus*. Or to be more explicit. Suppose iron is to be \$70 pr. ton. We would want 105 tons pr. mile, which will cost \$7350 pr. mile. Let the bonus be supposed \$300 000. The first month we received 840 tons, and pay \$58,800 for them. The second month the same, and so on, until we have paid the bonus of \$300 000. After that we pay a certificate of stock to the a'm't of \$58,800 for every 840 tons received, provided the market price continues unchanged, until we have received 36,500 tons. For which we shall have paid \$300 000 in cash and \$905,000 in stock. Then we issue as a bonus an additional certificate of stock to the am't of \$300000—making a total amount paid for iron in cash and stock \$2,506,000. As to the value of the stock, the iron company must form its estimate—taking into consideration the fact, that the whole road will be finished and equipt in three years, and that the business of the road is likely to be a very large one especially in travel, since it is the shortest possible line between New York and New Orleans. But you may say the *bonus* is too small. Then what bonus will you require to enter into the contract?

I hope I have succeeded in making intelligible to you the plan which we prefer for the accomplishment of our object.

If you have any suggestion to make I shall be glad to hear from you. Very Resply Yrs.

L. C Garland

Office of the N.E. & S.W. Ala. R.R. Co.
Tuskaloosa Jan'y 15. 1855

U. Stroup Esq.¹⁰
Blue Pond

Dear Sir.

Your favor of the 4th of Der last came to this office after my departure for the County of Greene, and from which I did not return for several weeks.

It is the desire of the company to procure the manufacture of the iron rails upon the line of the road. As yet we have matured no plan. I am to set out for all the Rolling Mills in the U.S. in a few days, with a view of ascertaining what can be done towards the accomplishment of our object.

In the mean time, if you have any suggestions to make or any terms to propose, I shall be glad to hear from you in detail. We want 31 500 tons of iron rails turned out in three years from next July.

I shall return from my tour about the 1st of April.

Very Resply Yr. obt. Svt.
L. C. Garland
Pres.

¹⁰ Probably Moses Stroup of Blue Pond, Alabama, was an incorporator of the Alabama Mining and Manufacturing Co., February 11, 1850.

Tuskaloosa

Jan'y 16. 1855

To

Wm. Foster Esq.²⁰

Secy of N.E. & S.W. R.

Dear Sir.—One thousand copies of the First An. Rep. of the Pres. & Directors of the N.E. & S.W. R. will be delivered to you early next week by Mr. Warren. Send 5 to each Director of the Company, making 60—

Send to W. W. Shearer of Livingston 150

To S. M. Gowdy of Greene 150

Retain yourself for Tusk 150

Send to Alfred Walker of Jefferson, Elyton 100

„ to Peyton Rowan Esq. of Ashville, St. Claire 100

„ to W^m O. Winston, Valley Head, DeKalb 100

„ to J. G. Jackaway, Trenton, Dade Co. 50

„ to Colo. J. A. Whiteside [*sic*], Chattanooga 50

If no other means of sending offers itself, send by mail, and charge the contingent fund, which will be settled quarterly—Perhaps by referring to the subscription books, you may send them in part individually to the subscribers, informing the persons above of those to whom sent—Retain the rest subject to my order.

Yrs. &c.

L. C. Garland—Pres. &c.

²⁰William Foster was an incorporator in the Macon Co. R. R. Co., February 15, 1856; Tuskegee R. R. Co., February 20, 1860.

Office of the N.E. & S.W. Road
Tuskaloosa Jan'y 16. 55

To

W. O. Winston Esq.

Dear Sir—I have just this moment recieved [sic] your letter and Colo. Whiteside [sic], mailed Nov. 29th. The delay is unaccountable. Having however addressed to you a letter yesterday, there is no occasion that I should do more than barely acknowledge the receipt [sic] of your communication.

You will recieve [sic] 100 copies of the First Annual Report of our Board, which you will please distribute among the stockholders of the Wills Valley Co. in DeKalb—I will send others to Dade.

Yrs. truly: in haste
L. C. Garland

N.B. Send a strong delegation to this Legislature—

Tuskaloosa
Jan'y 16. 1855

Jos: W. Taylor Esq.

My Dear Sir.

The letter which you addressed to me in Washington last March, and which you requested me to exhibit to our delegation and to Maj. Whitsitt, did not reach me in time for that purpose. I had supposed the occasion passed for using it. But in a recent communication from me to the Gainesville Independent, I had occasion to refer to incidents as detailed by you in that letter. In the last Independent Maj. Whitsitt replies in terms, that

absolutely require the publication of such parts of the letter as exhibit the facts in the case—accordingly I have done so, which I hope meets your approbation. You distinctly disclaimed writing a private letter; and had it been such I should never have made any statement based on its contents. But knowing that you had deliberated on the propriety of publishing the transactions yourself. I supposed that the present correspondence between Whitsitt and myself would afford an opportunity for so doing under circumstances that would remove from you, all suspicion of aggressiveness. I do not see, however, how Whitsitt is to answer your letter, which is so clear and pointed in respect to the matters in debate.

I expect to leave for the North in a day or two—

In haste,
I am truly yr. frd. & Svt.
L. C. Garland

Tuskaloosa
Jan'y 17. 1855

To
The local Directory of
Tuskaloosa Co.

Gent.

At the earliest possible period hold a meeting and

1st Elect a suitable agent to canvass the county for \$25,000, and to obtain the relinquishments of the right of way.

2nd Elect an efficient collector and take his bond to an

amount that will cover all amounts likely to fall at once into his hands.

3rd Appoint a Treasurer and take also his bond.

Let the person obtaining the relinquishments, take another witness along—and obtain all the signatures to *one* deed, which will save a great deal of expense for recording the same in the Clerk's Office.

I think the agent to obtain subscriptions (collect money) may be allowed 3 pr. cent upon all amounts subscribed to the new fund and unless you give an adequate compensation you cannot procure the services of a suitable man. The witness he takes along may be with him for only a few days and may be obtained for a trifle. The relinquishments had better be procured first, which may be done in a week or ten days. Then let the agent give himself to the business of procuring new stock. The per cent. named as a compensation may seem large, as it would, if it had been allowed me, paid \$30 000 [*sic*] as my salary. But I had in the upper counties an ungleaned field; and the fund of \$150 000 now to be raised, will be gotten with great difficulty. Suppose your agent between this and the first of April obtains the whole \$25 000 in this county—his compensation will be only \$750: and I am sure you are willing to pay for the service. You know better than I what ought to be paid to a collector. A man already engaged in that business ought to do it cheaply. There will be great need of promptness upon the part of this officer—and it is important that he be of the right stamp.

You were also directed to settle the entrance of the road into the corporate limits of Tuscaloosa, and to select a depot site. You ought to look to the final establishment of the machine shop at this city, and provide on certain conditions for as much ground as may be necessary.

Please Gent. give your earliest attention to these matters—that our business may all be brought squarely up on the 1st of Apl.

Yr. Very Resply
L. C. Garland
Pres.

Office of the N.E. & S.W. Ala. R.R. Co.
Tuskaloosa Jan'y 17. 1855

To Col. Wm. S. Mudd²¹

Dear Sir.

By order of the Board of Directors you, as the local Director of Jefferson County, are to appoint,

1st A suitable collector to collect the 2 pr. cent. fund unpaid as soon as possible.

2nd. A suitable agent to raise your proportion of the new fund of \$150 000, which cannot be less than \$20,000: and also to obtain the relinquishment of the right of way. I gave you, and Trass, deeds for that purpose:—but it is best to obtain all the signatures to *one* deed, in order to save the expense of recording. The agent had better make a business alone of obtaining relinquishments, taking a second witness with him—And as soon as this is done, let him press the canvass for the \$20,000, so that he may close it by the 1st of Apl.

Secure the best abilities in your county, and for that purpose, you must reward liberally for the services rendered. It has appeared to me that an offer of 3 pr. cent. on all the subscriptions obtained ought to draw out your best talent. For six weeks are enough for a thorough canvass of your County; and if the whole fund is obtained the reward will be \$600, or

²¹William S. Mudd, of Jefferson Co., Alabama, was an incorporator in the Beard's Bluff and Elyton R. R. Co., February 8, 1854; Tuscaloosa Plank Road Co., December 14, 1859; N. E. & S. W. Ala. R. R. Co., December 12, 1853. He entered the House as a member of the session of 1843; was re-elected in 1844 and again in 1845. He was Judge of the Third Circuit in 1855 and was on the bench through 1871 and possibly longer.

\$100 pr. week. Perhaps you may obtain a suitable person for less. I leave this with you—Only have the matter immediately attended to—and urge the collection of the 2 pr. cent. fund—

I will send to Mr. Walker a package of my report, to be distributed among the subscribers—These may not be enough for all—Get your paper to publish it in its columns—Thus you will have enough.

Yrs. Truly,
L. C. Garland

Office of the N.E. & S.W. R.
Tuskaloosa Jan'y 17. '55

To

W. O. Winston Esq.

Dear Sir.

You will see from our Report when published—that it is our policy to levy upon the whole line of our road from Chattanooga to the Miss. line the sum of \$150,000, in order to meet all the expenses of the company for the next 3½ years, within which time we hope to finish the road; and this to preserve the integrity of our iron fund of \$600,000—The portion falling to DeKalb is \$10,000, to Dade \$5,000, to Chattanooga \$20,000, making for the whole Will's Vally [sic] line \$35,000. If the apportionment does not meet your approbation, you can lay it otherwise on those three counties. This fund is to be raised by the 1st of Apl.—and is to be paid in 1, 2, and 3 years.

You are hereby appointed our agent to raise this fund along the Will's Valley line, and you will be allowed 2 pr. cent upon all sums obtained as subscriptions. Seven weeks will be ample for a thorough canvass of the line, and if you raise the \$35,000, your remuneration will be \$700, or \$100 pr. week, which I hope

is sufficiently liberal to induce you to put your hands to the plough—We wish the canvass closed by the 1st of Apl (indeed by the 29th of March) and the result reported to our Board which meets at that time.

Get all the right of way, and see them recorded in the respective offices along the line.

[The above letter was not concluded.]

Office of the N.E. & S.W. Co.

Tuskaloosa Jan'y 17. '55

To

Peyton Rowan Esq.²²

Dear Sir.

With a view to preserve the integrity of our fund of \$600.000 and to provide for all the expenses of the company through 3½ years, within which time we hope to finish our work, it was ordered by the Directory at its last meeting, that the sum of \$150,000 be levied upon the whole line from Chattanooga to Marion, Miss., which is the only additional call we expect to make upon the people. You are hereby appointed an agent to obtain the portion levied upon St. Clair viz: \$15,000, and you are offered for your services 3 pr. cent. upon all subscriptions obtained. I suppose that you can give the county a thorough canvass in 5 weeks: and if you should raise the \$15000, your compensation will be \$450, nearly \$100 pr. week, which I hope is sufficiently liberal to induce you to put your hand to the work. If you decline I do hereby empower you to procure the services of a suitable person—

The canvass we desire closed, and the result reported to

²²One Peyton Rowan was an incorporator of the Jacksonville, Williamsport and Anniston Railway Co., February 26, 1889.

this office by the 29th of March. The subscriptions are to be paid in 1, 2, and 3 years.

It is also made the duty of the agent to obtain the relinquishments of the right of way from all residents along the line. A single deed will answer best—as it will save the recording of a great many separate ones. The agent ought to have a second witness along—and perhaps it will be better to spend a week in that part of his business, which will allow time for circulating the notices of his meetings to procure stock.

You will receive soon 100 copies of the 1st An. Rep. of the Co. Please distribute to subscribers: Press with all possible expedition the collection of the 2 pr. cent. fund on former subscriptions.

Yrs. truly

L. C. Garland

Pres.

Tuskaloosa
Jan'y 22. 1855

To T. A. Marshall Esq.
Pres. of So. R.R.

Dear Sir.

I have written to you two communications during the last 6 months and having received a reply to neither, I have concluded you were absent from Vicksburg, and they were never received.

I will esteem it a special favor if you will apprise [*sic*] me at your earliest convenience of your prospect to build from the Mobile and Ohio Road to the State line within three years at most. If you will certainly build within that time we will not now provide for that part of our line. But if there is a *doubt*

upon this point, we must make provision for building ourselves and have already proposals to grade that portion of our line, one half for stock and the other half for money.

But can we not unite our resources and grade a double track, much cheaper than either of us can a single track?

You cannot well concieve [*sic*] of the efforts that have been made in Alabama, to break up our purpose to run to the crossing of the Southern and Mobile roads. On the other hand we have redoubled ours to secure your connection. The news, that your loan and contract with a Pennsylvania Co. have failed, and that you have no prospect of prosecuting your work has thrown a damper upon our enterprize.

But is such the fact? Do let me know; *confidentially* if you desire, the true state of your affairs. If you have to make a new contract think of the proposition above. We can get 17 miles graded for either a single or double track, one half in our stock and the other half in money. Probably your stock may be taken as readily as ours, and we may thus accomplish our object with a saving to each of at least $1/3$ of the grading for a single track. But if you will certainly build to the State line in 2 or 3 years, we shall for the present, as stated above, be content with the terms upon which you have proffered to transport to the junction our freight and passengers. And it may be years before we will construct a line of our own down to that point. But, with a view, to extension in a direct line to N. Orleans, such utlimately will be our policy.

Please let me hear from you at once.

I am Very Resply
Yr. obt. Svt
L. C. Garland

Tuskaloosa

Apl 2. 1855²³

Colo. W. O. Winston:

Dear Sir.

I have just recieved [sic] a letter from Mrs. Oliver announcing the death of her husband, and representing the urgent necessity of realizing at once the amount of her husband's claim against the Will's Valley Co. The claim is not only that of a just creditor long kept out of his dues, but it is that of the widow and the orphans who are likely to suffer without its immediate reception. Do use every effort to pay it and if the whole cannot be collected at once, do collect what you can and pay it to her. Perhaps you may borrow the money, for I suppose no one can doubt the ability or willingness of the company to pay at an early period.

She writes to me from Stevenson, Jackson Co. Ala, where I presume a letter to the care of J. F. Martin will find her.

But now for another topic. The friends of our road are very solicitous and you should represent DeKalb Co.—and will you not yield to this general desire and announce yourself a candidate? It is not a time for our strong and practical men to be kept in retiracy—and I do hope you will get your own consent to run. We cannot doubt the result.

We have shipped by 107 bales of cotton from this county. The same of Greene & Sumter may be said. There is no money in the county, consequently we are making no collections for our road—although the necessity of building it is enforced upon every man's understanding. I may be in y'r valley the last of the month on my way to the North.

I am truly

Yr. frd & Svt.

L. C. Garland

²³Garland visited all the Rolling Mills in the United States between January 15, 1855 and April 1, 1855.

Tuskaloosa Apl 2. 1855

Colo. J.A. Whitesides

Dear Sir.

The 2nd regular meeting of the Directory of the N.E. & S.W. Rd for the present year closed a day or two ago. It was a gloomy season as far as money prospects were concerned. The delegates of Greene Co. borrowed money to pay their traveling expenses to the meeting. This may give you an idea of the state of things in this portion of Alabama. We have shipped but 207 bales from this county—not more from Sumter and Greene. There is no money among us. Our merchants have sent out of the county what little there was in it. In this condition of affairs the Directory give their personal notes to borrow as much money as would serve to sustain our operations at this end of the line, and passed a resolution requesting the City of Chattanooga to sustain *for the present* the corps above Wills Creek. We will refund what the City may advance when we are able to make collections—Just think: with a call of 5 per cent on \$600,000 we have collected, with active agents in the field, only about \$400!! What is worse, we cannot borrow money on the best paper. Under these circumstances, being interested in the same common cause, and not having had its resources dried up like ours, will not the City of Chattanooga advance a small portion of its subscription to save us from an actual suspension of our work? A suspension now would be ruinous whereas if we can survive this crisis, we shall arise with renewed vigor like a Phoenix from its ashes. Never was our enterprise in better favor. The people have been made to *feel* the want of the road to an extent which will render them liberal supporters of it when plenty and prosperity revisit our country again.

Do undertake to negotiate the advance upon the part of your city to an extent to meet the orders of Mr. Sanford in behalf of the corps now engaged in Will's Valley, and inform Mr. Sanford at the earliest possible period of your success.

If money can be raised I expect to go north in about three weeks. I hope to have the pleasure of your company on the

terms agreed upon between us, and I shall advise you promptly of my movements as soon as they can be certainly ascertained.

Enclosed I send you a paper for the Directory of the N. & C. Road. Please take charge of it and procure for us if possible the privilege desired.

Mr. Sanford thinks it out of the question to join the N. & C. road in the limits of Georgia, on topographical account. The Dade Co. people must effect a change in their charter to give discretion in this matter. Will you communicate with the leading men of the county on the subject.

Mrs. Oliver writes me from Stevenson that her husband is dead, and that she is in great want of the money due his estate by the Wills Valley Co. I have written to Winston urging the prompt payment of this claim not of *justice* only but of *mercy*. I suggested a loan if it could not be paid otherwise. Any assistance you can render in the matter will no doubt be duly appreciated by the parties interested.

I am, Dear sir. your
Friend & Servant
L. C. Garland

Offices of the N.E. & S.W. Ala. Co.
Tuskaloosa Apl 2. 1855

To The President & Directors)
of the Nash. & Chat. R.R. Co.)

Gent.

Since the Engineer in Chief of this company has made a personal reconnaissance of the track of the Nash. & Chat. Road around the point of Lookout Mountain he has strongly urged a modification of the Articles of Agreement ratified between the

two companies relative to the building of a second track around said point by the Ala. company. The terms as agreed upon restrict the Alabama company to the *South or Bluff side* of ye [sic] track of the Tenn. company, and the modification proposed is, the conveyance of a right to the Alabama company to build on the *river side* of said track, and for that purpose to use the materials on both sides, with an explicit engagement *not* to interrupt, or obstruct or injure in any manner whatsoever the Tenn. track.

And in order to obviate the inconvenience of the crossing of two tracks, it is further proposed to exchange tracks after the second one is completed, the Alabama company giving a guarantee that it shall be in every respect as good as the one now belonging to the Tenn. company.

Esteeming these modifications reasonable, and in no manner injurious to your own interests, we hope, Gentlemen, that you may regard them with favor: and that you will act upon them at your earliest convenience.

I am with sentiments of high consideration

Yr. Mo. obt. Svt.
L. C. Garland
Pres. N.E. & S.W. Rd.

Tuskaloosa Ala. Aug. 20. 1855²⁴

E. W. Stephens Esq.²⁵

My Dear Sir.

On my return yesterday from a visit made to the southern counties on the line of the N.E. & S.W. Road, I found three communications from you, to which I now proceed to reply.

²⁴There is no explanation for the absence of letters between April 1 and August 20.

²⁵S. W. Stephens of Rome Georgia.

Just at this period, and from a cause unanticipated, our operations are suspended. Our policy has been, as you learned from our published reports, not to begin our work until all the requisite provisions are made to push it to a successful and speedy conclusion. Our deficiency, arising from a change of location, consists of 20 miles of grading in the county of Greene and 10 miles in the county of Sumter. We had always hoped that the people of those counties would make up their respective deficiencies by the time we were ready to put the road under contract. In this expectation we have been disappointed. They have not done so. Our subscriptions along the whole line of near 300 miles cannot be collected until the deficiency is supplied. We have notified those counties that we will disband our corps and suspend all operations *instantly* unless as the other counties have done they come up fully to the support of the work. And if they do not do this, and if we cannot make some provision for the hiatus, we have legally a claim upon a single subscriber. Look over our reports again and you will see the nature of the necessity under which we are laid to adopt this course.

Now I have no idea that the project will fail. Indeed there is another outlet to the Mobile & Ohio Road tendered to us through Gainsville; and if the people on our preferred line do not give us an outlet through Livingston we will take that through Gainsville. The latter route is said to be in a condition to comply with our demand of furnishing the grading & their part of the cash fund.

We must therefore be still for the present, until all the conditions upon which our subscriptions are obtained are complied with. I hope this will not drag; and when we do really begin the work, it will be pushed to a speedy termination, and in the mean while, we shall urge our application upon the Legislature of Alabama, to aid us in the institution of our policy to manufacture the rails on the line of road. We propose to borrow \$500 000 for that purpose—Can we borrow of capitalists as much more after the erection of the works, by making our bonds mortgages upon the works themselves? In other words, if we put up the works, can we get the means for operating them? Something may be done in buying corn and pork for stock, at least in part. I could now contract for thousands of bushels of corn at 50 cts a bush. half stock & half cash.

It will be as much as we can do to grade, bridge, culvert & crosstie the road, and pay the expense of engineering—and borrow \$500 000 from the State—This is our utmost hope.

Now how can you work out the completion of the problem? Do let me have your views at large. Also, furnish me with all the statistics you can obtain relative to the wealth created by iron & coal—and the advantages State from the development of her resources in these two minerals of prime necessity.

Of one thing you may feel assured,—that it will be the pleasure of our company to place you at the head of the iron department, if they adopt the policy of manufacturing on their own account, and this plan is rather growing in favor. They think your demand very high, but they will not stumble at that. Until, however, our policy is defined—and until we are prepared to bid you go forward, you had better not affect your arrangements at Rome. All our plans will be matured during the fall and early winter, or the whole project will be given up.

Of another thing you may be satisfied—That we shall never put you at the work until we know that we can sustain you—by making promptly all the payments we assume.

I have accepted the Presidency of our State University located in Tuscaloosa, which will sever my official connection with the Road, unless I yield to the request of the Board to act as Commissioner for providing the manufacture of iron. If you can place full confidence in the Report of the gentleman, whom you have purposed [*sic*] to send to explore our iron & coal, we will pay his expenses and \$100 pr. month. We would prefer yourself, but if you would be placing yourself out of employment by coming on, we could not expect you to do so.

I am Very Truly

Yrs,

L. C. Garland

BOOK REVIEWS

To Enquiring Friends If Any: Autobiography of John McDuffie Farmer, Lawyer, Legislator, Judge. Edited by Mary Margaret Flock. (Mobile: Azalea City Printers. (n.d.) pp ii, 300. \$5.75).

John McDuffie (1883-1950) of Monroe County was among the more important men of his age in Alabama. A farmer, lawyer, legislator, and federal judge he served his state and nation with leadership and ability. These privately published memoirs were told to and edited by his secretary, Mary Margaret Flock. A graduate of Auburn and later the law school of the University of Alabama, he served five years in the state legislature, nine years as Solicitor of the First Judicial Circuit, sixteen years as a member of the United States House of Representatives, and fifteen years as Judge of the United States District Court, Southern District of Alabama.

These interesting reminiscences cover his early childhood up to his appointment to the federal bench in 1935. They will be of interest to those who would like a glimpse into the past—of life on an Alabama farm before the turn of the century—of college days at Auburn with the beloved “Miss Allie” Glenn and Miss Lottie Lane—of his years as solicitor and finally the Congress where he rose to the position of Majority Whip. His observations upon the difficulty of passing effective state legislation for the control of railroads, the needs of education, and the prohibition fight during the Comer Administration will be of interest to historians. He was not an ardent New Dealer but did support some of the New Deal legislation. He had the honor of nominating John Nance Garner for Vice-President at the Democratic convention in 1932. The volume is attractively bound and the printing excellent. John McDuffie deserves a biography.

Hugh D. Reagan
Auburn University

The Texas Land and Development Company. By B. R. Brunson. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1970. Pp. xi, 248. Bibliography, appendices, index. \$7.50.)

In recent years monographic studies of local history have resulted in a better understanding of individual states and our national heritage. The M. K. Brown Range Life Series, of the University of Texas Press, has produced a number of such fine in-depth studies. B. R. Brunson's *The Texas Land and Development Company: A Panhandle Promotion, 1912-1956* is part of that series, and continues the high level of scholarship found in the earlier volumes.

Many people remark, if you have read about one land promotion scheme, you have read about all of them. Most land companies, at least during the promotional period, took more out of the area than they put in. *The Texas Land and Development Company* was one of the few exceptions to the rule. From its formation by F. S. Pearson in 1912, the company decided to buy unimproved land, in the Plainview, Texas region, improve it, and then sell it as a producing farm ready for occupancy. Eventually the company purchased 61,360 acres in and about Plainview. Also, it is rather amazing that the organization pumped more than two million dollars into the area making the desired improvements in the way of houses, barns, and fences. It maintained several experimental farms, which the author questioned I believe unfairly, and pioneered the way for extensive irrigation in the Panhandle of Texas.

That the company survived the death of Pearson on the *Lusitania* in 1915, a shortage of capital during World War I, and several agricultural depressions, to finally dissolve in 1956, paying most of its investors a reasonable profit, exhibits good management. The organization and its personnel, local and "carpetbag" was highly regarded in the Panhandle Region. The managers, most notably Winfield Holbrook, with great reluctance foreclosed on land, and then only when they were convinced the farmer was bankrupt.

The first few chapters are topical, e. g., the first deals with the area before 1912, and others with organization of the companies involved, sale promotion, farming, etc. The last chapters

are largely chronological, and follow a step-by-step move toward solvency (resulting from the boom created by World War II), and finally liquidation. In several places the rather detailed discussion of the formation of the holding companies between 1912, and complete re-organization in 1919, makes rather tedious reading.

The genealogist will find the work useful, and it contains several appendices devoted to biographical sketches of such leading figures as F. S. Pearson, an internationally known engineer and financier, and M. C. Keith, organizer of United Fruit Company, as well as simple farm owners. The author closes with the statement that the enterprise "can be considered a good example of the American system of free enterprise capitalism at work."

Victor H. Treat

Texas A&M University

The Franco-Texan Land Company, by Virginia H. Taylor (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1969, Pp. xiv, 331 Illustration, map, bibliography, index, \$7.50.)

The History of the United States has been aptly described by Thomas P. Abernethy and others as one great land speculation. Such a statement certainly applies to Texas, and probably to most other states. The University of Texas Press has a series dealing with land manipulation and land companies in Texas entitled the M. K. Brown Range Life Series, and *The Franco-Texan Land Company* by Virginia H. Taylor is one of the volumes in the series.

Texas alone suffered or produced innumerable land operations and schemes, but most were not as complicated as the Franco-Texan. The operation began as a rather nefarious railroad promotion, which was expanded to include such national figures as John C. Fremont and P. G. Beauregard on this side of the Atlantic, and equally prestigious individuals in France. Since many of the records are now lost or destroyed, it is difficult to evaluate the various roles played by Fremont and others. One of the greatest sources used by the author was the Con-

gressional records of the time, and they are unfortunately lacking in information about the private lives of the individuals involved. The performance of the railroads involved, the land company, etc., all were argued in the Congress of the United States. Some of the basic arguments in relation to all American railroads of the late nineteenth century appear in the debates over the Memphis, El Paso and Pacific Railroad Company, later the Texas and Pacific Railroad, and other related lines. Such great railroad names as Huntingdon, Scott, and Gould crisscross the Franco-Texan story.

The Memphis, El Paso and Pacific had graded 65 miles of roadway prior to 1861, but seizures of railroad property by the Confederate Government halted all construction. When attempts were made to resurrect the line after 1865 (John C. Fremont was given the role to smooth the way through Congress for a Federal grant; however, the enemies of Fremont conspired to block all such attempts. From the beginning, every Texas statute and sound business practice was violated by the Fremont group. Outright lies were utilized when Fremont went to France to sell railroad bonds. The American Minister, Elihu B. Washburne, considered the bonds fraudulent, and tried to halt the sale, but Fremont's powerful French confederates outmaneuvered him. The role played by Fremont is still debated; however, it seems clear that several million dollars raised by him and his associates were never accounted for.

The Memphis, El Paso and Pacific failed to meet its obligations and a reorganization resulted in the formation of the Texas and Pacific. By 1876, the situation was so confused that finally the French bond holders, in an attempt to recoup their losses, took control of the remaining assets and formed the Franco-Texan Land Company, with the intent of selling land held by the company.

The American headquarters for the company was Weatherford, Texas, but again corruption and fraud siphoned off most of the profits. Unfortunately, the honest investor gained very little, while the manipulator claimed most of the proceeds.

The prose was reasonably readable, considering the rather complex nature of the subject, and there were few mistakes in

proofing. The footnotes appear to be adequate and the index was well done. Anyone interested in land speculation and railroad building will find the work of interest.

Victor H. Treat
Texas A&M University

F. Garvin Davenport, Jr. *The Myth of Southern History: Historical Consciousness in Twentieth-Century Southern Literature*. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1970. Pp. xi, 212 Bibliography. Index. \$7.95.)

Professor Davenport has examined the fictional and non-fictional writings of Southerners from Thomas Dixon to C. Vann Woodward to identify and explain what he has called the "myth of Southern history." The four concepts of Union, Southern uniqueness, Southern mission, and Southern burden developed by early twentieth century Southern writers furnish the basis for the myth. Woodrow Wilson saw the South as re-joining the Union but he agreed with Willam Garrott Brown that Negroes must remain disfranchised. It was Thomas Dixon who brought all four themes together to explain the myth of Southern history. As Jim Crow segregation merged with United States expansion of control over brown people in the Caribbean and Pacific, Dixon struck a popular note when he wrote novels depicting Negroes as threats to Anglo-Saxon purity and applauded the inhuman tactics by which Southern whites had resisted post-Civil War efforts to include Negroes in Southern society. His influence was expanded by the popular success of D. W. Griffith's motion picture, *Birth of a Nation*, based on one of his books. Dixon's belief that Southerners were carrying out their mission of preserving white supremacy while assuming the burden of military defeat and violent suppression of Negroes was widely acclaimed in early twentieth century America.

In *I'll Take My Stand* the Southern Agrarians of the 1930s wrote of the uniqueness of the South in terms of an agrarian way of life unspoiled by the social and environmental disruptions of industrial development. But where Dixon's success was made possible because Southern attitudes on race matched national attitudes, the Agrarians failed because that was no

longer in their time. Depression, world war, and advancing technology operated against Southern uniqueness and chambers of commerce south of the Mason-Dixon line embraced industrialization with its assaults on rural life and racial segregation.

By placing the Southern dilemma in the context of national ideals and universal history William Faulkner upset the prevailing myth of Southern history. In his writings, the plantations stood in ruins and myths of moral innocence stood in stark relief beside the twisted remnants of aristocratic families. He called for Southerners to accept the burden of their past and put it to constructive use in meeting social problems which were becoming national in scope. Robert Penn Warren broke away from his Agrarian colleagues and called for Southerners to recognize the limits on the myth of innocence and accept responsibility for their past as a necessary step toward achieving progress in history. Following closely behind Warren, C. Vann Woodward thought it ironic that in a land of plenty and victory there existed people who had known hunger and defeat. Because of this "burden," the South's mission was to make America aware of its own history and the right of the rest of the world to its own values and beliefs.

By the 1960s, Davenport saw the South still frozen in its attitudes created by the old myth of Southern history. He thought that Martin Luther King, Jr., offered hope because his ideas stemmed from the Southern experience itself and rose above it. King echoed the warnings of Faulkner and Warren and called for fulfillment of Southern mission through nonviolent and love-centered achievement of racial justice, not only to give Negroes their rightful place in society but to free white Southerners from their burden.

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